THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

ARTHUR J. BROWN

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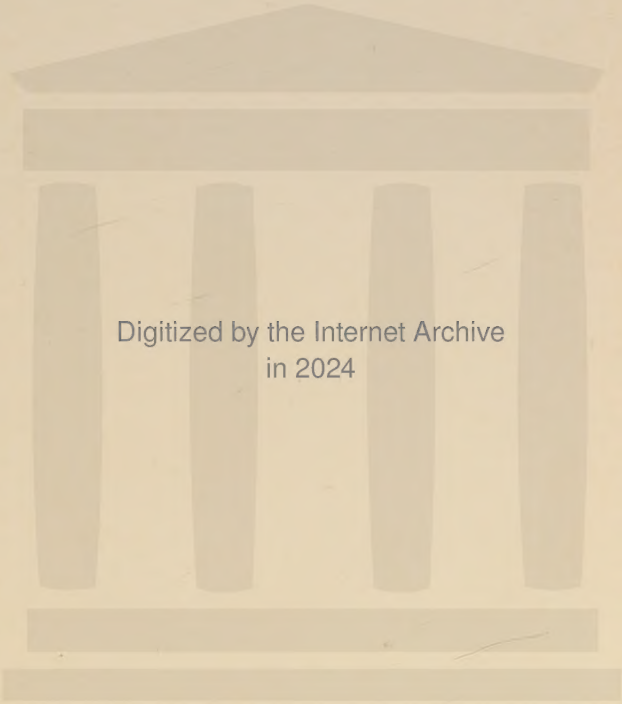
THE CHINESE REVOLUTION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See Chapter VII

YUAN SHIH KAI

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

BY

ARTHUR JUDSON BROWN

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PREFACE

A new China is emerging. Whatever may be the immediate developments, however short or long the process of readjustment, we cannot doubt the outcome. This book is not, of course, intended to be a final account of either the process or the result, but an aid to the study of the large outstanding causes and of their operation thus far. These causes are clear, and a knowledge of them is indispensable to an understanding of the extraordinary significance of the reconstruction which is now taking place. I have used some parts of my former and larger book, "New Forces in Old China," which are applicable to present conditions and the scope of this little book—the publishers, The Fleming H. Revell Company, having given their approval. This material, however, has been readjusted, wherever necessary, and brought down to date. Considerable new matter has been added, so that this book is intended to be a separate one representing the present situation.

THE AUTHOR.

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THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

CHAPTER I

OUTBREAK AND BACKGROUND OF THE REVOLUTION

The Revolution in China is too recent to be described in historic perspective, nor can we yet comprehend its full results. Its causes and character, however, are apparent and its larger significance can already be discerned.

The alleged cause was the attempt of the Government to nationalize the railways, which had hitherto been controlled in the Provinces. Foreign financiers had something to do with this decision of the Government. Capital is always looking for profitable investment and European and American bankers saw the rich possibilities of railway development in a country of such enormous population. They urged China to borrow money for the purpose and they were not averse to having the railways under centralized governmental control in order that their investments might be more secure and their dealings limited to a few men. Western governments, our own included, more or

less openly abetted the effort, for they were not slow to discern the advantages which might accrue to them if the thoroughfares of the nation were controlled by a few officials in Peking who were dependent upon foreign financing and accessible to diplomatic influence. The persistent efforts of mortgage loan companies in the United States to persuade farmers to borrow money were repeated on a colossal scale by Peking representatives of German, British, French, and American capitalists.

The Provinces resented this program. This was partly because the power of the central Government has long been weak in China and "States' Rights" sentiment is very strong; partly because the construction of railways meant many opportunities for official "squeeze," and local officials did not relish the transfer of those opportunities to officials in Peking. Moreover, while new railways were to be built by the Government from foreign loans, the revenues of the Provinces were to be pledged for security for the use of the loans, which virtually meant that the Imperial Government was to borrow vast sums which the Provinces were to mortgage themselves to pay. Accordingly, when Sheng Kung Pao, Minister of Imperial Posts and Communications, undertook to carry out the new program, a storm of protest arose. The crisis was precipitated in the Province of Sze-chwan, where most of the landed gentry had subscribed to a joint

stock railway company with a capital of eight millions. The Government ordered the dissolution of the company, took possession of its properties, and paid the stockholders $5,350,000 in bonds, part of which carried no guaranteed interest and most of which the unhappy subscribers regarded as worthless. The Government believed, no doubt with reason, that the road was being built as New York and Pennsylvania built their State Capitols, and it was not disposed to refund that part of the expenditures which corrupt officials and contractors had pocketed.

The unrest of the people was intensified by awful calamities. An epidemic of pneumonic plague swept the northern Manchurian Provinces, 50,000 dying in three months in the spring of 1911. Floods again devastated the central Provinces. This is a common occurrence in the valleys of the Yang-tze and Hwang-ho Rivers, but the floods of 1910–1911 were the worst in forty years. The Yang-tze was forty miles wide 250 miles from the sea and great areas in the Ngan-hwei, Kiang-su and Hunan Provinces were also inundated. Millions of people were made homeless and the ruin of their crops, in the two former Provinces for the third time in five years, added the horrors of famine and pestilence. The Provinces of Shantung, Che-kiang, Kiang-si and Hupeh also suffered, some from floods and some from droughts, so that in the

seven Provinces affected a total of 600,000 families, or 3,000,000 people, were actually starving and dying. Men become blindly desperate in such circumstances. Superstition suggests that the gods are angry. The Government is blamed, especially when its high officials are living in luxury, are doing little to give help to the suffering people, and are believed to be stealing some of the relief funds sent by the charitable of other countries. Discontent in such circumstances is easily swollen into a rage of rebellion.

It is clear, however, that such reasons do not adequately account for the stupendous upheaval that has taken place. They were the occasions of the Revolution, not its sufficient cause.

A larger cause lies in the fact that China has not been governed by the Chinese, but by the alien Manchus. The Manchus were originally one of the wandering, half-civilized but warlike tribes who roamed the extensive region north and northeast of China and whose origin is lost in a haze of mythical antiquity. In the twelfth century, one of these tribes, the Mongols, developed a chieftain of phenomenal force, one of the born leaders of men, the celebrated Jenghiz Khan. He welded the warlike tribes into a nation and hurled it with such ferocity upon Asia that a large part of the then known world fell under his sway. After his death, his kingdom gradually disintegrated until

Mongolia and Manchuria were again broken up into a confused number of independent tribes, which were usually at war with one another or with China, and which China finally overcame and added to her dependencies. In the sixteenth century, another conqueror arose among these warlike peoples. This chieftain, Nurhachi, sprang from a small Manchu tribe. Like Jenghiz Khan several centuries earlier, he had the boldness and skill to subdue some tribes and persuade others until he brought all Manchuria under his sway. He fought the Chinese until he won independence for his people and founded a dynasty under the title of Tien-ming. His son Tien-tsung continued his father's fierce warfare against China, till a revolution broke out in China. The rebels succeeded in capturing Peking in 1643. The timid and degenerate Emperor Hwai-tsung, the seventeenth ruler of the Ming Dynasty, committed suicide, thus bringing to an inglorious end the Chinese Dynasty which had ruled since 1368. The commander of the northern Imperial army, who had been sent against the Manchus, refused to acknowledge the usurping rebel leader and asked his enemy to make common cause with him in putting down the revolution. The Manchus eagerly accepted the invitation. With their vigorous assistance, the revolution was speedily quelled, and as the deceased Emperor had left no heir, the Manchu chieftain

took the throne for himself, though his sudden death at this juncture, 1644, has led historians to regard his son and successor, Shun-chi, as the first Manchu Emperor of the Ta-tsing (Pure) Dynasty of China.

The Manchus have held the Government ever since. They were often domineering in their attitude toward the Chinese. They segregated themselves as much as possible from their Chinese neighbors. Wherever numerous enough, they dwelt in separate walled cities or sections of cities. Every Manchu had a Government pension, in return for which he was enrolled as a " Bannerman," available for military service. Exempted from the necessity of supporting themselves, with the Government in their hands so that they had the disposition of its vast revenues and could take the most lucrative posts for themselves, or fill them with Chinese who were subservient to them, the robust warlike vigor of earlier days began to wane. Power, ease and self-indulgence begat physical and moral degeneration. There are to-day a few exceptions, some of them, like Tuan Fang, conspicuous ones; but the Manchus as a class are narrow, corrupt reactionaries. It was inevitable that the Chinese should become restive under the domination of this comparative handful of aliens. That they endured it so long is a marvel which becomes even partially intelligible only when we remember

Photograph, Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

(See pages 8–9, 63, 83, 129–136, 162–164, 168–170)

Tzu Hsi

From 1861 to 1908 Tzu Hsi was Empress Dowager; a woman of extraordinary ability and force of character. She was the real ruler of China for nearly half a century.

their temperament, their lack of national unity, and the large measure of self-government which the indolent Manchus left to local communities which paid their taxes into the Imperial treasury.

However, a study of Chinese history shows that the people did not acquiesce as meekly as the western world has supposed. China has long been honeycombed with revolutionary societies. Rebellions have repeatedly broken out. Some of them were civil wars of the first magnitude. The Taiping Rebellion lasted twelve years (1852–1864). The carnage was so frightful that estimates of the number of lives that were sacrificed range from 30,000,000 to 50,000,000, Dr. W. A. P. Martin, former President of the Imperial University, Peking, being authority for the latter figure, a number equaling the entire population of the United States at that time. The Rebellion would probably have succeeded in overthrowing the Manchus if it had not been for two foreigners. The first was Frederick Ward, an American adventurer of considerable military skill. He accepted a General's commission under the Government and won a succession of brilliant victories. After his death, Gen. George Gordon, a British army officer, came to the help of the sorely beset Government. He organized what came to be known as "The Ever-Victorious Army," because under his generalship it was never defeated. General Gordon was a man

of high Christian character and he doubtless felt that he was doing humanity service. It may be doubted, however, whether he rendered so great a service as he imagined. However, the failure of the revolt was not wholly due to Ward and Gordon. The Tai-pings themselves, flushed with victory, gave themselves up to riotous excesses. Their leader professed to be Christian, but whatever may have been the original purity of his motives, his later years were a sad travesty on Christian teaching. Partly, therefore, because of superior force without and partly because of dissensions and degeneracy within, the Tai-pings were finally subdued, though China was long in recovering from the sorrows and desolations of that protracted and bloody strife.

The failure of the Tai-ping Rebellion continued the Manchus in power; but they learned nothing from their narrow escape. They became more arrogant and oppressive than ever. That such conditions could not permanently continue was clear. The Manchus were saved for a time by the rise of Tzu Hsi, the daughter of a poor but noble Manchu, who became a favorite concubine of the weak Emperor Hsien Feng and the mother of the heir to the throne. Hsien Feng's death in 1861, at the age of thirty, brought to the Throne Tzu Hsi's five year old son, Kuang Hsu. One of the first acts of the Regents was to issue a decree in the

name of the Emperor conferring the rank of Empress Dowager upon both the widowed Empress and the favorite concubine, his mother. Regents and widow had short shift of power before the resolute Tzu Hsi. The Emperor, on attaining his majority, proved to be a well-meaning but nerveless man, and for nearly half a century Tzu Hsi was the real ruler of China. She was a woman of extraordinary ability and force of character, and under her iron domination the Manchus obtained new lease of life. When the Boxer Uprising against the Manchus occurred in 1900, the wily Empress Dowager succeeded in diverting it against foreigners, and although the allied armies of Europe and America ultimately crushed the Uprising and compelled her to flee for a time, she succeeded in keeping the reins of power. After her death, November 15, 1908, a day after the death of the puppet Emperor Kuang Hsu, Manchu power began to crumble. The Prince Regent, Chun, governing in place of the baby successor to the Throne, had neither the strength nor the wisdom to control the situation, as we shall note more fully in a later chapter. Discontent grew apace and the signs of coming tumult became ominous. The revolutionary leaders, who had long been secretly perfecting their plans, saw that the time for action was at hand. They had intended to postpone the uprising until 1913 in order to com-

plete their effort to win over the army and navy. But the spirit of rebellion was becoming too fierce to be repressed. On October 9th, 1911, the accidental explosion of a bomb in Hankow drew the attention of the police to a house in the Russian Settlement. A search disclosed not only many bombs but revolutionary documents which included lists of revolutionists. The leaders, finding secrecy no longer possible, promptly raised the standard of revolt in the adjacent Provinces. Sze-chwan rose almost en masse, and made short work of the Imperial officials and their half-hearted supporters. The victorious revolutionists marched upon the three contiguous cities of Hankow, Wu-chang and Hanyang. The Imperial forces made a determined stand for a while, but in almost incredibly short time, the greater part of central and southern China was ablaze.

But while these explanations may satisfy the superficial observer, they do not satisfy the philosophical student or the Christian. If the Revolution meant only a change of officials, our interest in it would be languid. What matters it to us whether the Manchu Chun or the Chinese Yuan rules China, unless they stand for divergent policies which make the conflict between them of world significance? This leads us to the real cause of the Revolution. It is the cause which has produced an awakening of many different nations.

See page 10

PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY BUILDING, UNDER SERPENT HILL, WU-CHANG

Headquarters of the Revolution—since burned

The great ideas of brotherhood, of justice, of liberty, and of righteousness, which Christianity inculcates and which exerted their first reconstructive influence in Great Britain, Germany and North America, have been promulgated throughout the world and have begun to manifest their inevitable transforming and uplifting power. Men in non-Christian lands, who are not prepared to give their personal allegiance to Christ, are being swayed more or less consciously by the teachings and the spirit of Jesus. They have become impatient of conditions in which they formerly acquiesced either through indifference or a sense of helplessness. New ambitions have been stirred, new wants created. A stern protest against misgovernment and oppression has been engendered. A new spirit is abroad, and with mighty power it is overturning and recasting ancient institutions and deeply rooted customs. All India is seething with this spirit, and the British Government finds itself confronted by administrative difficulties of a more formidable character than any which have arisen since the Sepoy Rebellion. Changes have taken place in Turkey and Persia, which would have been deemed incredible a few years ago. Revolution in Mexico has ended the iron rule of President Diaz, who, in spite of the fact that he ruled under the forms of a republic, was a dictator of the most autocratic type. Japan, which was the first of the

non-Christian nations to attempt a reorganization of its institutions in harmony with the spirit of the modern world, is facing both at home and in Korea the special problems which grow out of that effort. Our own country is confronting similar problems in the Philippine Islands. And now, most stupendous and most significant of all is the Revolution in China. Christendom has been amazed by the magnitude and also by the swiftness and decisiveness of this Revolution. The nation which has the largest population within a compact area of any nation in the world, whose people have hitherto so lacked national spirit that they were not able to act together, a people who have had such insufficient means for intercommunication that it was difficult for one part of the Empire even to know the conditions in another part of the Empire, a people who have been proverbially conservative and slow moving, have suddenly shown a unity of movement and a solidarity and determination of action which would have been inconceivable a short time ago. It is clear that an enormous upheaval and reconstruction are taking place throughout great areas of the non-Christian world.

Where the ruling class identifies itself with this movement and leads it, the revolution is peaceful and glorious, as it was in England, Germany and Japan. Where the ruling class blindly and angrily resists the movement, as it did in France and

as it is now doing in Russia, the revolution is characterized by tumult and bloodshed. China has been no exception. Bigoted, fossilized conservatism would not yield without a struggle. And so in China the new and old grappled once more in titanic conflict. Western nations cannot but be interested in such a struggle, for it is fraught with far-reaching consequences not only to China but to the world.

Such a revolution is not to be adequately described by a mere cataloguing of its particular events, an account of a battle here, the burning of a city there, and a diplomatic negotiation yonder. These, interesting and even appalling as they may be in themselves, are after all but the concomitants of the movement. The movement itself can be understood, not by picturing the details of the advance of the revolutionary army, as the newspapers did from day to day, but by considering the character of the Chinese people, their relation to the world, and the forces which have been operating upon them to produce the present upheaval. In the light of such a study, we shall discern the true significance of the Revolution and foresee, in part at least, its certain result, however protracted the period of readjustment may prove to be.

An important element in the significance of the Revolution lies in the magnitude of the nation which it affects. Even a small country may influ-

)ence the world, as the history of Greece, Palestine and the Netherlands, reminds us. Bulk does not always mean proportionate power, as Africa illustrates. But when huge size and potential quality are combined, and when the whole mighty mass begins to move and to come into direct contact with other and smaller or weaker peoples, and all other peoples are smaller or weaker than the Chinese, the possibilities of the situation are almost overwhelming. If it be true that the proper study of mankind is man, the study of China is the most proper study of the world to-day.

The area of China proper, including Manchuria and Mongolia, is 3,263,630 square miles. If we add Tibet and Chinese Turkestan, which China claims as dependencies, we have 1,013,540 square miles more, or a total area of 4,277, 170. Such an enormous figure conveys no intelligible idea, and the mind must resort to comparisons to comprehend it. We may therefore remember that China is one-third larger than all Europe, and that if the United States and Alaska could be laid upon it there would be room left for several Great Britains. Extending from the eighteenth parallel of latitude northward to the fifty-fourth, the Empire has every variety of climate from Canadian cold to Cuban heat. It is a land of vast forests, of fertile soil, of rich minerals, of navigable rivers. There are said to be 600,000,000 acres of arable

soil, and so thriftily is it cultivated that many parts of the Empire are almost continuous gardens and fields. Four hundred and nineteen thousand square miles are believed to be underlaid with coal. Baron von Richthofen thinks that 600,000,000,000 tons of it are anthracite, and that the single Province of Shen-si could supply the entire world for a thousand years. When we add to this supply of coal the apparently inexhaustible deposits of iron ore, we have the two products on which material greatness largely depends.

Estimates of population differ widely, because the provincial officials do not count individuals but make a more or less perfunctory return of the number of families, which are then multiplied by five, the assumed average size of a family. As Chinese marry at an earlier age than Europeans, as men who can afford them have concubines as well as wives, as men and women alike are eager to have as many sons as possible to preserve the continuity of the family, care for them in old age and worship their tablets after death, and as childlessness is the direst of misfortunes to a Chinese, five seems a conservative estimate for a family. Something depends, too, upon whether the population of the eighteen Provinces is meant or that of all the territory that the Chinese claim; and something also upon the fact that a local official had to send taxes to his superiors on the basis of the popula-

tion under him, and as he usually pocketed what he did not send, he had a personal interest in reporting on a very conservative basis. The census of 1910 gave 312,420,025, but it is not clear whether this includes anything outside of the Provinces. The Chinese, European and American Governments agreed to apportion the Boxer Indemnity on the basis of 407,453,029 for those Provinces alone, and the Statesman's Year Book for 1910 gives the total population of China and its dependencies as 433,553,030, which is probably as near the truth as we shall get until more exact methods of census taking are adopted.

The population is comparatively spare in the outlying regions, 2,580,000 in Mongolia, 6,430,-020 in Tibet and 1,200,000 in Chinese Turkestan. The scattered and usually nomadic inhabitants are hardly half civilized and count themselves as only nominally subject to China. Manchuria, however, is far from being the barren country that so many imagine it to be. It is, in many respects, like Canada, and its 370,000 square miles include rich agricultural and mineral resources. The population, 8,500,000, is small for such a fertile region but it is rapidly increasing.

Conditions in central and eastern China are very different. Consider that the eighteen Provinces alone, with an area about equal to that part of the United States east of the Mississippi River,

have approximately eight times the population of that part of our country. There is something amazing in the number of the swarming myriads. Great cities are surprisingly numerous, while large towns and villages are almost innumerable. In the Swatow region, within a territory a hundred and fifty miles long and fifty miles wide, there are no less than ten walled cities of from 40,000 to 250,000 inhabitants, besides hundreds of towns and villages ranging from a few hundred to 25,000 or 30,000 people. Men never tire of writing about the population adjacent to New York, Boston and Chicago. But in our five weeks' constant journeying through the interior of the Shantung Province, there was hardly an hour in which multitudes were not in sight. There are no scattered farm-houses as in America, but the people live in villages and towns, the latter with stone walls and even the former often having mud walls. As the country is comparatively level, it was easy to count them, and there were always a dozen or more in plain view. I recall a memorable morning. We had risen early, and by daylight we had breakfasted and started our carts and litters. In our enjoyment of the cool, bracing morning air, we walked for several miles. Just before the sun rose, we crossed a low ridge and from its crest I counted no less than thirty villages in front of us, while behind there were about as many more, the aver-

age population being apparently about 500 each. For days at a time, my road lay through the narrow, crowded streets of what seemed to be an almost continuous village, the intervening farming land being often hardly more than a mile in width.

Imagine half the population of the United States packed into the single state of Missouri and an idea of the situation will be obtained, for with an area almost equal to that of Missouri, Shantung has no less than 38,247,900 inhabitants. It is the most densely populated part of China. But the Province of Yun-nan is as thickly settled as Bulgaria and Shan-si as Hungary. Fo-kien and Hupeh have about as many inhabitants to the square mile as England has. Chih-li, with the area of Illinois, has 27,990,871 people.

Too much has been made of the peculiarities of the Chinese, ignoring the fact that many customs and traits that appear peculiar to us are simply differences developed by environment. Eliza Scidmore affirms that "no one knows or ever really will know the Chinese, the most comprehensible, inscrutable, contradictory, logical, illogical people on earth." But a Chinese gentleman, who was educated in the United States, justly retorts: "Behold the American as he is, as I honestly found him—great, small, good, bad, self-glorious, egotistical, intellectual, supercilious, ignorant, superstitious, vain and bombastic. In truth so very re-

markable, so contradictory, so incongruous have I found the American that I hesitate." It never occurs to us to commit suicide in order to spite another. But in China such suicides occur every day, because it is believed that a death on the premises is a lasting curse to the owner. And so the Chinese drowns himself in an enemy's well or takes poison on his door-step. A rich Chinese murdered an employee in a British colony, and knowing that inexorable British law would not be satisfied until some one was punished, he hired a poor Chinese named Sack Chum to confess to having committed the murder and to permit himself to be hung, the real murderer promising to give him a good funeral and to care for his family. An Englishman who thought this an incredible story wrote a letter of inquiry to a Chinese merchant of his acquaintance and received the following quaintly worded reply:

> Nothing strange to Chinamen. Sack Chum, old man, no money, soon die. Every day in China such thing. Chinaman not like white man—not afraid to die. Suppose some one pay his funeral, take care his family. "I die", he say. Chinaman know Sack Chum, we suppose, sell himself to men who kill Ah Chee. Somebody must die for them. Sack Chum say he do it. All right. Police got him. What for they want more?

These things appear odd from our view-point and there are many other peculiarities that are

equally strange to us. But it may be wholesome for us to remember that some of our customs impress the Chinese no less oddly. The *Frankfurter Zeitung,* Germany, prints the following from a Chinese who had seen much of the Europeans and Americans in Shanghai:

We are always told that the countries of the foreign devils are grand and rich; but that cannot be true, else what do they all come here for? They jump around and kick balls as if they were paid to do it. Again you will find them making long tramps into the country; but that is probably a religious duty, for when they tramp they wave sticks in the air, nobody knows why. They have no sense of dignity, for they may be found walking with women. Yet the women are to be pitied, too. On festive occasions they are dragged around a room to the accompaniment of the most hellish music.

A Chinese gentleman who was making a tour of Europe and America wrote to a relative in China as follows:

You cannot civilize these foreign devils. They are beyond redemption. They will live for weeks and months without touching a mouthful of rice, but they eat the flesh of bullocks and sheep in enormous quantities. That is why they smell so badly; they smell like sheep themselves. Every day they take a bath to rid themselves of their disagreeable odors, but they do not succeed. Nor do they eat their meat cooked in small pieces. It is carried into the room in large chunks, often half raw, and they cut and slash and tear it apart. They eat with knives and prongs. It makes a civilized being perfectly

nervous. One fancies himself in the presence of sword-swallowers. They even sit down at the same table with women, and the latter are served first, reversing the order of nature.

It will be seen that mutual recriminations regarding national peculiarities are not likely to be convincing to either party. Human nature is much the same the world over.

I do not mean to give an exaggerated impression of the virtues of the Chinese. Undoubtedly they have grave defects. Official corruption is well-nigh universal. The *North China Herald* reports a well-informed Chinese gentleman of the Province of Chih-li as expressing the conviction that one-half of the land tax never reaches the Government. "But that is not all," said he. "There are other sources of income for the hsien official. Thus here in this country, thirty-five or forty years ago, the Government imposed an extra tax for the purpose of putting down the Tai-ping Rebellion, and the officials have continued to collect that tax ever since. Of course if the literati should move in the matter and report to Paoting-fu, the magistrate would be bounced at once; but they are not likely to do so. The tax is a small one, my own share not being more than five dollars or so."

China's whole public service was rotten with corruption. Offices with merely nominal salaries or

none at all were usually bought by the payment of a heavy bribe and held for a term of three years, during which the incumbent sought not only to recoup himself but to make as large an additional sum as possible. As the weakness of the Government and the absence of a public sentiment that cares left them free from restraint, China was the paradise of embezzlers. "Any man who has had the least occasion to deal with Chinese courts," says Dr. C. H. Fenn of Peking, "knows that 'every man has his price,' that not only every underling can be bought, but that 999 out of every 1,000 officials, high or low, will favor the man who offers the most money." Banks and commercial firms may be depended upon to keep their contracts and honor their paper; but personal "graft" and untruthfulness are common characteristics.

Mr. Ng Poon Chew, editor of the leading Chinese daily paper in America, the *Chung Sai Yat Po* of San Francisco, visited his native land last year and writes:

> When I started for China I had a great deal of sympathy with the existing Chinese Government, in spite of the fact that my relations with Dr. Sun Yat Sen and other present leaders of the revolutionary movement were rather close. But when I saw conditions in Peking, how the same crowd filled the offices and the same graft methods were in vogue, and that the Manchus were not making any real reforms, I became as hot a revolutionist as could be found in any part of the Empire.

RAILWAY STATION AT HANKOW

Around which there was much fighting

IMPERIAL MAXIM GUN

One of a number used in battles about Hankow

Many of the students who had spent from ten to fifteen years in this country refused to go to Peking when they got back to China for the reason that it required not only influence but actual cash for them to get the ear of a Manchu prince. It was an open secret that to get near one of them you had to pay at least 300 taels, considerably over $200, to see his doorkeeper. This money was supposed to be divided up among those on the inside, even the prince getting a share. The higher the job you were looking for the more you had to pay to see the doorkeeper. I was told in Peking that Prince Ching's income from that sort of graft alone was $3,000,000 a year, and Prince Su is about as big a rascal. Everything was being done for show. The trip of Prince Tsai Toa and Prince Tsai Hsun around the world was a grafting game. They did nothing but accept entertainments on their way around the world and when they got back they were described as having made a thorough study of naval and military affairs all over the world.[1]

Gambling is openly indulged in by all classes. As for immorality, the Rev. Dr. J. Campbell Gibson of Swatow says that "while the Chinese are not a moral people, vice has never in China as in India been made a branch of religion." But Dr. C. H. Fenn of Peking declares "that every village and town and city—it would not be a very serious exaggeration to say every home,—fairly reeks with impurity." The Chinese are, indeed, less openly immoral than the Japanese, while their venerated books abound with the praises of virtue.

[1] The New York *Sun*, February 3, 1912.

But medical missionaries could tell a dark story of the extent to which immorality eats into the very warp and woof of Chinese society. The five hundred monks in the Lama Temple in Peking are notorious not only for turbulence and robbery, but for vice. The temple is in a spacious park and includes many imposing buildings. The statue of Buddha is said to be the largest in China—a gilded figure about sixty feet high—colossal and rather awe-inspiring in "the dim religious light." But in one of the temple buildings, where the two monks who accompanied us said that daily prayers were chanted, I saw representations in brass and gilt that were quite as obscene as anything that I saw in India. There is immorality in lands that are called Christian, but it is disavowed by Christianity, ostracized by decent people and under the ban of civil law. But Buddhism puts immorality in its temples and the Government supports it. This particular temple has the yellow tiled roofs permitted only on buildings which are associated with the Court or which are under special Imperial protection. Mr. E. H. Parker, after twenty years' experience in China, wrote: "The Chinese are undoubtedly a libidinous people, with a decided inclination to be nasty about it. . . . Rich mandarins are the most profligate class. . . . Next come the wealthy merchants. . . . The crapulous leisured classes of Peking openly flaunt the worst of

vices. . . . Still, amongst all classes and ranks, the moral sense is decidedly weak. . . . Offenses which with us are regarded as almost capital—in any case as infamous crimes—do not count for as much as petty misdemeanors in China." [1]

More patent to the superficial observer is a cruelty which appears to be callously indifferent to suffering. This manifests itself not only in barbarous punishments but in many incidents of daily life. The day I entered Chefoo, I saw a dying man lying beside the road. Hundreds of Chinese were passing on the crowded thoroughfare. But none stopped to help or to pity, and the sufferer passed through his last agony absolutely uncared for and lay with glazing eyes and stiffening form, unheeded by the careless throng. Twenty-four hours afterwards, he was still lying there with his dead face upturned to the silent sky, while the multitude jostled past, buying, selling and laughing, heedless of the tragedy of human life so near. And when in Ching-chou-fu I stopped to see if I could not give some relief to a woman who was writhing in the street, I was hastily warned that if I touched her unasked, the populace might hold me responsible in the event of her death and perhaps demand heavy damages, if indeed it did not mob me on the spot. Undoubtedly the Chinese are often deterred from aiding a sufferer because they

[1] "China," 272, 273.

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fear that if death occurs, "bad luck" will follow them, a horde of real or fictitious relatives will clamor for damages, and perhaps a rapacious magistrate will take advantage of the opportunity to make a criminal charge which can be removed only by a heavy bribe. And so the sick and poor are often left to die in crowded streets, and drowning children are allowed to sink within a few yards of boats which might have rescued them. Everywhere in China, little attention is paid to suffering and many customs seem utterly heartless.

In spite, too, of the agnostic teachings of Confucius and their own practical temperament, the Chinese are a very superstitious people and live in constant terror of evil spirits, while beyond any other people known in the world they appear to be spiritually dead, without the religious temperament of the Hindus and densely ignorant of those higher levels of thought and life to which Christianity has raised whole classes in Europe and America.

Still, at a time when the Chinese are being vociferously abused, it is only fair that we should give them credit for the good qualities which they do possess. Americans do not wish to be judged by their worst types, or even by the weaknesses and follies of their best people. It is unfair to compare our highest classes with the lowest in China and then complacently affirm our superiority. Let

us compare best with best and worst with worst.

There has been too much of a disposition to think of the Chinese as a mass, almost as we would regard immense herds of cattle or shoals of fish. Why not think of the Chinese as an individual, as a man of like passions with ourselves? Physically, mentally, and morally he differs from us only in degree, not in kind. He has essentially the same hopes and fears, the same joys and sorrows, the same susceptibility to pain and the same capacity for happiness. Are we not told that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men"? We complacently imagine that we are superior to the Chinese. But discussing the question as to what constitutes inferiority of race, Benjamin Kidd declares that "we shall have to set aside many of our old ideas on the subject. Neither in respect alone of color, nor of descent, nor even of the possession of high intellectual capacity, can science give us any warrant for speaking of one race as superior to another." Real superiority is the result, not so much of anything inherent in one race as distinguished from another, as of the operation upon a race and within it of certain uplifting forces. Any superiority that white men now possess is due to the action upon us of these forces. But they can be brought to bear upon the Chinese as well as upon us. We should avoid what George Eliot calls the popular

mistake of looking at the Chinese " as if they were merely animals with a toilet, and never see the great soul in a man's face." We need in this study a true idea of the worth and dignity of man as man, to grasp the great thought that the Chinese is not only a man but our brother man, made like ourselves in the image of God. We shall get along best with the Chinese if we remember that he is a human being like ourselves, responsive to kindness, appreciative of justice, and capable of moral transformation under the influence of the Gospel. He differs from us not in the fundamental things that make for manhood, but only in the superficial things that are the result of custom and environment. From this view-point we may say with Shakespeare

> There is some sort of goodness in things evil,
> Would men observingly distil it out.

Those who refer so contemptuously to the Chinese might profitably recall that when, in Dickens' " Christmas Carol," the misanthropic Scrooge says of the poor and suffering: " If he be like to die, he had better do it and decrease the surplus population," the Ghost sternly replies: " Man, if man you be at heart, not adamant, forbear that wicked cant until you have discovered what the surplus is and where it is. Will you decide what men shall live, what men shall die? It may be

that in the sight of heaven, you are more worthless and less fit to live than millions like this poor man's child. Ah, God! to hear the insect on the leaf pronouncing on the too much life among his hungry brothers in the dust!"

There is much in the Chinese that is worthy of our respectful recognition. Multitudes are indeed stolid and ignorant; but multitudes, too, have strong, intelligent features. Thousands of children have faces as bright and winning as those of American children. Europe and America have not done justice to the character of the Chinese. I do not refer to the bigoted and corrupt Manchu officials, or to the lawless barbarians who, like the "lewd fellows of the baser sort" in other lands, are ever ready to follow the leadership of a demagogue. But I refer to the Chinese people as a whole. Their view-point is so radically different from ours that we have often harshly misjudged them, when the real trouble has lain in our failure to understand them. Let us be free enough from prejudice and passion to respect a people whose national existence has survived the mutations of a definitely known historic period of thirty-seven centuries and of an additional legendary period that runs back, no man knows how far, into the haze of a hoary antiquity; who are frugal, patient, industrious and respectful to parents, as Americans are not; whose astronomers made accurate re-

corded observations 200 years before Abraham is said to have left Ur; who used firearms at the beginning of the Christian era; who first grew tea, manufactured gunpowder, made pottery, glue and gelatine; who wore silk and lived in houses when our ancestors wore the undressed skins of wild animals and slept in caves; who invented printing by movable types 500 years before that art was known in Europe; who discovered the principle of the mariners' compass without which the oceans could not be safely crossed; who conceived the idea of artificial inland waterways and dug a canal 600 miles long; who made mountain roads which, when new, in the opinion of Dr. S. Wells Williams, probably equaled in engineering and construction anything of the kind ever built by Romans; and who invented the arch to which our modern architecture is so greatly indebted. Germans began using paper in 1190, but Sven Hedin found Chinese paper 1,650 years old and there is evidence that paper was in common use by the Chinese 150 years before Christ. European business was conducted on the basis of coin or barter until a few hundred years ago; but long before that, the Chinese had banks and issued bills of exchange. The British Museum has a bank-note issued by Hong Wu, Emperor of China, in 1368.

The Chinese exalt learning and, alone among the nations of the earth, have made scholarship a

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test of fitness for official positions. True, that scholarship until recently moved along narrow lines of Confucian classics, but surely such knowledge was a higher qualification for office than the brute strength which for centuries gave precedence among our ancestors. A Chinese writer explains as follows the gradations in relative worth as they are esteemed by his countrymen: "First, the scholar, because mind is superior to wealth and it is the intellect that distinguishes man above the lower orders of beings and enables him to provide food and raiment and shelter for himself and for other creatures; second, the farmer, because the mind cannot act without the body and the body cannot exist without food so that farming is essential to the existence of man, especially in civilized society; third, the mechanic, because next to food, shelter is a necessity and the man who builds a house comes next in honor to the man who provides food; fourth, the tradesman, because, as society increases and its wants are multiplied, men to carry on exchange and barter become a necessity and so the merchant comes into existence; his occupation—shaving both sides, the producer and consumer—tempts him to act dishonestly, hence his low grade; fifth, the soldier stands last and lowest in the list because his business is to destroy and not to build up society; he consumes what others produce but produces nothing himself that

can benefit mankind; he is, perhaps, a necessary evil." [1]

While the Government of China was a paternal despotism in form and while it was often weak and always corrupt and tyrannical in practice, nevertheless there was a larger measure of individual freedom than might be supposed. "There are no passports, no restraints on liberty, no frontiers, no caste prejudices, no food scruples, no sanitary measures, no laws except popular customs and criminal statutes. China is in many senses one vast republic, in which personal restraints have no existence." [2]

We must not form our opinion from the Chinese whom we see in the United States. True, most of them are kindly, patient and industrious, while some are highly intelligent. But, with comparatively few exceptions, they are Cantonese coolies, from the lower classes of the single province of Kwang-tung. The Chinese might as fairly form their opinion of Americans from our lower classes. But there are able men in the Celestial Empire. Bishop Andrews returned from China to characterize the Chinese as "a people of brains." After General Grant's tour around the world, he told Senator Stewart that the most astonishing thing which he had seen was that wherever the Chinese

[1] Quoted by Beach, "Dawn on the Hills of T'ang," 45, 46.
[2] E. H. Parker, "China," 169.

had come into competition with the Jew, the Chinese had driven out the Jew. We know the persistence of the Jew, that he has held his own against every other people. And yet this race, which has so abundantly demonstrated its ability to cope with the Greek, the Slav and the Teuton, finds itself outreached in cunning, outworn in persistence and overmatched in strength by the Chinese. The canny Scotchman and the shrewd Yankee are alike discomfited by the Chinese. Those who do not believe it should ask the American and European traders who are being crowded out of Saigon, Shanghai, Bangkok, Singapore, Penang, Batavia and Manila. In many of the ports of Asia outside of China, the Chinese have shown themselves to be successful colonizers, able to meet all competition, so that to-day they own the most valuable property and control the bulk of the trade. It is true that the Chinese are inordinately conceited; but shades of the Fourth of July orator, screams of the American eagle! it requires considerable self-possession in a Yankee to criticize any one else on the planet for conceit. The Chinese have not, at least, padded a census to make the world believe that they are greater than they really are. A British consular official, who has spent many years in China and who speaks the language, declares that in his experience of the Chinese their fidelity is extraordinary, their sense of responsi-

bility in positions of trust very keen, and that they have a very high standard of gratitude and honor. "I cannot recall a case," he says, "where any Chinese friend has left me in the lurch or played me a dirty trick; and few of us can say the same of our own colleagues and countrymen."

Many quote against the Chinese the familiar lines:

> —— for ways that are dark
> And tricks that are vain,
> The heathen Chinee is peculiar.

But whoever reads the whole poem will see the force of the London *Spectator's* opinion that it is a "satire of the American selfishness which is the main strength of the cry against the cheap labor of the Chinese," and that "it would not be easy for a moderately intelligent man to avoid seeing that Mr. Bret Harte wished to delineate the Yankee as not at all disposed to take offense at the 'cheap labor' of his Oriental rival, until he has discovered that he could not cheat the cheap laborer half so completely as the cheap laborer could cheat him."

It is common for people to praise the Japanese and to sneer at the Chinese. All honor to the Japanese for their splendid achievements. With marvelous celerity they have adopted many modern ideas and inventions; they are worthy of the respect they receive. But the Chinese unite to an

intelligence equal to that of the Japanese, the plodding persistence of the Germans; and the old fable of the tortoise and the hare is as true of nations as it is of individuals. Unquestionably, the Chinese are the most virile race in Asia. A quaint sign in Shanghai unconsciously tells a world fact: "Furnaces and umbrellas mended, any mortal thing can do." "Wherever a Chinese can get a foot of ground and a quart of water he will make something grow." Colquhoun quotes von Richthofen as saying that "among the various races of mankind, the Chinese is the only one which in all climates, the hottest and the coldest, is capable of great and lasting activity." And he states as his own opinion: "She (China) has all the elements to build up a great living force. One thing alone is wanted—the will, the directing power. That supplied, there are to be found in abundance in China the capacity to carry out, the brains to plan, the hands to work."

CHAPTER II

TRANSFORMATIONS WROUGHT BY STEAM AND COMMERCE

Upon this vast mass of isolated people, the forces of the modern world began to operate. Steam established new contacts with other nations. Fifty years ago, China was so far away in time that it had no appreciable effect upon American life. News traveled slowly. Even the stupendously frightful Tai-ping Rebellion was imperfectly known by the American people and most of those who did know of it were but languidly interested in what they regarded as a remote event of small concern to the world. Hunter Corbett and Calvin Mateer, young missionaries who sailed for China in 1863, were six months in reaching their destination in a sailing vessel of small tonnage, few conveniences and no comforts.

In our day, such vessels have given way to swift steamers. The Trans-Siberian Railway brings Berlin within thirteen days of Peking, and Dr. Corbett has made a comfortable journey home in twenty-one days. It is startlingly significant of the change that has taken place that Russia and Japan, nations

7,000 miles apart by land and a still greater distance by water, were able in the opening years of the twentieth century to wage war in a region which one army could reach in four weeks and the other in four days, and that all the rest of the world could receive daily information as to the progress of the conflict. A half century ago, Russia could no more have sent a large army to Manchuria than to the moon. Jules Verne's story, "Around the World in Eighty Days" was deemed fantastic in 1873; but in 1911, André Jagerschmidt traveled around the world in thirty-eight days. This means that China is nearer New York than California once was. Can such a vast mass of population, and one with such characteristics as we have noted, come within a fortnight of our Pacific Coast and three weeks of the Atlantic Coast without affecting us? Clearly we must make the Chinese better or they will make us worse.

This facility of intercommunication has also brought Europe and America to China and resulted in an inrush of western influences which have exerted enormous revolutionary power.

Western manufacturers began to send to China their locomotives, steam engines, electrical apparatus, labor-saving machinery and other products of American inventive genius. Missionaries had a large part in the development of this trade, though this was not their object and they reaped

no profit from it. When a Chinese gentleman saw the missionary's watch, he wanted one, and the watch and clock factories of the world responded. Women saw the missionary's wife make her clothing with a sewing machine, and instantly they must have machines. So great a demand has followed that one company in America recently offered a missionary a salary of $15,000 if he would take its superintendency of sales in China. He declined the offer, for he did not go to China to sell sewing machines. The Chinese saw the missionary's house lighted by kerosene oil, and straightway they refused to be content with a burning rag in a dish of vegetable oil which had given the dim and smoky light of olden days. To-day, lamps may be found in all houses of the better class and in myriads of humble dwellings, and the five-gallon tins of American oil companies are in every village of the country, the exports to China in a recent year amounting to $14,500,000 gold. Some years ago, a firm in Portland, Oregon, sent an agent to Hongkong to introduce its flour. The rice-eating people of the southern Provinces did not want it; but the agent stayed, gave away samples, explained its use and pushed his goods so persistently that after years of labor and the expenditure of tens of thousands of dollars, a market was created. Now that firm sells in such quantities that its numerous mills must run day and night to supply the demand and

the annual profits run into six figures. The cotton growers of the United States find their chief foreign market in China. The universal clothing of all but the wealthy, who wear silk, is made of cotton cloth, and American milling companies send more of their output to China than to all the rest of the outside world combined.

China has thus become one of the great markets of western nations. Agents of European and American manufacturers are in most of the leading cities and the products of the white man's fields and factories may be seen in the remotest interior towns. Everywhere articles of foreign manufacture are in demand, and shrewd Chinese merchants are stocking their shops with increasing quantities of European and American goods. The Church building at Wei-hsien typifies the elements that are entering China, for it contains Chinese brick, Oregon fir beams, German steel binding-plates and rods, Belgian glass, Manchurian pine pews and British cement. Foreign concessions in the treaty ports are lighted by electricity and business blocks are equipped with telephones, and as the Chinese nobles and merchants see the brilliancy of the former and the convenience of the latter, they want them too. At a banquet given to the foreign ministers by the late Emperor and Empress Dowager, in the Summer Palace, the distinguished guests cut York ham with Sheffield knives and

drank French wines out of German glasses. People of all ranks, who but a decade or two ago were satisfied with the crudest appliances of primitive life, are now learning to use steam and electrical machinery, to like Oregon flour, Chicago beef, Pittsburgh pickles and London jam, and to see the utility of foreign wire, nails, cutlery, drugs, paints and chemicals.

Nor are the Chinese contenting themselves with importations of the foreigners' goods; they are beginning to manufacture for themselves. They are establishing their own water, steam and electric power plants and building mills of all kinds. Arsenals with modern machinery turn out rifles and ammunition. The Han-yang Iron and Steel Works, opposite Hankow, begun in 1894, now employ over 4,000 workmen and not only make iron and steel for China's railways, bridges and warships, but produce pig iron so much cheaper than it can be produced in America that the company can undersell the Carnegie Steel Works in New York, and Mr. Charles M. Schwab, President of the Bethlehem Steel Works, testified before the Finance Committee of the United States Senate, February 8, 1912, that he found it cheaper to import Chinese pig iron for his works in San Francisco than to ship it from his own plant in Pennsylvania. The missionaries having convinced the people that there are no demons in the ground to

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IRON WORKS AT HAN–YANG

be offended by digging, and foreign mining companies having shown what rich deposits are available, the Chinese are forming oil and mining companies of their own. The Government has offered generous rewards for developing mineral resources and has established an official bureau of surveying and assaying, manned by Chinese graduates of the best American engineering schools.

The era of commercial development in China has now fairly begun and it is working vital social and economic changes, just as the corresponding era did in Europe and America. The effect is most visible in cities. Peking, for example, now has well paved streets, sidewalks, sewers, street cars, telephones, electric lights and a uniformed police force. Scores of other cities are undergoing like transformation. Splendid carriage roads are no longer confined to the foreign settlements in treaty ports; they may be found in the native city of Tien-tsin and in Nanking, Tsinan-fu, Tsing-chou-fu and many other cities. The transformation is almost startling to one who saw the old China of even a dozen years ago. The contrasts between my first and second visits to China in 1901 and 1909 amazed me in spite of all that I had read, and the development since 1909 has been even more amazing.

The extension of trade has naturally been accompanied not only by the increase of foreign steamship lines to the ports of China, but by the

development of almost innumerable coastwise and river vessels. Many of these are owned and operated by the Chinese themselves; but as steamers came with the foreigners and as they drove out the native junks and brought beggary to their owners, the masses of the Chinese could not be expected to feel kindly towards such competition, however desirable the steamer may appear to be from the view-point of a more disinterested observer. But this interference with native customs has been far less revolutionary than that of the railways.

The pressure of foreign commerce upon China naturally resulted in demands for concessions to build railways, in order that the country might be opened up for traffic and the products of the interior be more easily and quickly brought to the coast. The first railroad in China was built by British promoters in 1876. It ran from Shanghai to Wu-sung, only fourteen miles. Great was the excitement of the populace, and no sooner was it completed than the Government bought it, tore up the roadbed, and dumped the engines into the river. That ended railway-building till 1881, when, largely through the influence of Wu Ting-fang, late Chinese Minister to the United States, the Chinese themselves, under the guidance of an English engineer, built a little line from the Kai-ping coal mines to Taku, at the mouth of the Pai-ho River and the ocean gateway to the capital. See-

ing the benefit of this road, the Chinese raised additional funds, borrowed more from the English, gradually extended it 144 miles to Shan-hai-kwan on the north, and ran another line to Tien-tsin, and thence onward seventy-nine miles to Peking. This system forms the Imperial Railway and belongs to the Chinese Government, though bonds are held by the English who loaned money for construction, and English and American engineers built and superintended the system. The local staff, however, is Chinese.

No more concessions were granted to foreigners until 1895, but then they were given so rapidly that in 1899, when the Boxer Society began to attract attention, there were not only 566 miles in operation, but 6,000 miles were projected, and engineers were surveying rights of way through whole Provinces. Much of the completed work was undone during the destructive madness of the Boxer Uprising, but reconstruction began as soon as the tumult was quelled. Now there are 6,300 miles in operation and several thousand more are projected. The Peking-Hankow Railway connects with the line which is being rapidly pushed from Canton to Hankow. Tien-tsin and Nanking are the termini of another trunk line, while shorter railways are in several other Provinces. The railroad, when once built, is soon appreciated by the thrifty Chinese, who swallow their prejudices and

patronize it in such enormous numbers, and ship by it such quantities of their produce, that the business speedily becomes remunerative, while the population and the resources of the country are so great as to afford almost unlimited opportunity for the development of traffic.

It would be difficult to describe in adequate terms the far-reaching effect upon China and the Chinese of this extension of modern railways. We have had an illustration of its meaning in America, where the transcontinental railroads resulted in the amazing development of our western plains and the Pacific Coast. The effect of such a development in China can hardly be overestimated, for China has more than ten times the population of the trans-Mississippi region and its territory is vaster and equally rich in natural resources. As I traveled through the land, it seemed to me that almost the whole northern part of the Empire was composed of illimitable fields of wheat and millet, and that in the south the millions of paddy plots formed a rice field of continental proportions. Hidden away in China's mountains and underlying her boundless plateaus are immense deposits of coal and iron; while above any other country on the globe, China has the labor for the development of agriculture and manufacture. Think of the influence not only upon the Chinese but upon the whole world when railroads not only carry the grain of

Hunan to the famine sufferers in Shantung, but when they bring the coal, iron and other products of Chinese soil and industry within reach of steamship lines running to Europe and America. To make all these resources available to the rest of the world, and in turn to introduce among the teeming myriads of Chinese the products and inventions of Europe and America, is to bring about an economic transformation of stupendous proportions.

Imagine, too, what changes in Chinese communities are involved in the substitution of the locomotive for the coolie as a motive power, the freight car for the wheelbarrow in the shipment of produce, and the passenger coach for the cart and the mule-litter in the transportation of people. Orientals, who for uncounted centuries plodded along in perfect contentment, now find that the whole order of living to which they and their fathers had become adapted is being shaken to its foundation by the iron horse of the foreigner. Millions of coolies earned a living by carrying merchandise in baskets or wheeling it in barrows at five cents a day. A single railroad train does the work of a thousand coolies, and thus deprives them of their means of support. A locomotive brings economic and physical benefits, the appliances which mitigate the poverty and barrenness of existence and increase the ability to provide for

the necessities and the comforts of life. In one of our great locomotive works in America, I once saw twelve engines in construction for China, and my imagination kindled as I thought what a locomotive means amid that great swarm of humanity, how impossible it is that any village through which it has once run should continue to be what it was before, how its whistle puts to flight a whole brood of superstitions and summons a long-slumbering people to new life. Railways have inaugurated in China a new era, and when a new era is inaugurated for one-quarter of the human race, the other three-quarters are certain to be affected in many ways.

Many other illustrations of a changed condition might be cited. Knowledge increases wants, and the Chinese is acquiring knowledge. He demands a hundred things to-day that his grandfather never heard of, and when he goes to the shops to buy his daily food, he finds that the new market for it which the foreigner has opened has increased the price.

This movement is, in some respects at least, beneficial. It means a higher and broader scale of life and such a life always costs more than a low and narrow one. The economic revolution brings not only higher prices but wider intellectual and spiritual horizons and a general enlarging and uplifting of the whole range of human activity. There

are indeed some vicious influences accompanying this movement. But surely it is for good and not for evil that the farmers of Hunan can now ship their peanuts to England and with the proceeds vary the eternal monotony of a rice-diet; that all China should discover the advantages of roads over rutty, corkscrew paths, of sanitation over heaps of putrid garbage, and of wooden floors over filth-encrusted ground. Christianity inevitably involves some of these things, and to some extent the awakening of Asia to the need of them is a part of the beneficent influence of a Gospel which always and everywhere renders men dissatisfied with a narrow, squalid existence.

But these altered conditions have not yet brought the ability to meet them. The cost of living has increased faster than the resources of the people. Europe and America are trying to force their own manufactures on Asia and to take in return only what they please. In time, this will probably right itself, in part at least. While the farmers of the Mississippi Valley find living much more expensive than it was two generations ago, they also find that they get more for their wheat and that they eat better food, wear better clothes and build better houses than did their grandfathers. The era of railroads ended the days of cheap living, but it ended as well days when the farmer had to confine himself to a diet of corn-bread and salt

pork, when his home was destitute of comforts and his children had little schooling and no books.

The same changes will doubtless take place in China. That great country is capable of producing enormous quantities of food, minerals and both raw and manufactured articles which the rest of the world will sooner or later want. But only a small part of the total population has thus far profited largely by this wider market. Where one man amasses wealth in this way, 100,000 men find that aggressive foreign traders exploit their wares by flooding the shops with tempting articles which they can ill afford to buy. The difficulty is rapidly becoming acute.

So the economic revolution in China is characterized, as such revolutions usually are in Europe and America, by wide-spread unrest and, in some places, by violence. The oldest of nations is the latest to undergo the throes of the stupendous transformation from which the newest is slowly beginning to emerge. The transition period in China will be longer and perhaps more trying, as the numbers involved are vaster and more conservative; but the ultimate result cannot fail to be beneficial both to China and to the whole world.

It is therefore too late to discuss the question whether the character and religions of this nation should be disturbed. They have already been disturbed by the inrush of new life and by

the ways as well as by the products of the white man. A crowd of Chinese recently went to one of the most famous temples in Canton, hacked off the heads of the idols and dragged them through the streets amid the derisive laughter of the people. That superstition, however, is consistent with modern invention appears in the fact that a parade in Tsing-tau, to placate the evil spirits that were believed to be withholding rain, included as the chief feature of the procession an image of a god riding in an automobile and ostensibly driving it.

China has no more imperative need to-day than the spiritualization of her secular life, the lifting of her people above the sordid plane of material things, the teaching that the new era calls for new ideals as well as for railways and steamships. The Christian men and women of the West have a contribution to make which will mean far more for China than mechanical appliances. Whether increased commercial and economic facilities prove a blessing or a curse depends upon the men who use them; and China's profoundest need is for more Christian workers who will concern themselves with men. A tobacco company has announced its determination to put its cigarettes into the hands of every man, woman and child in China. Brewers, distillers and gum manufacturers have like ambitions. Will the readers of this book help to bring a nobler force to bear?

CHAPTER III

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND GROWTH OF POLITICAL UNREST

The political ideas of the modern world have also surged into China with all their revolutionary force. As the vastness of the country and its resources became better known, western nations eagerly sought to extend their influence into this attractive field. They deemed it necessary, also, to protect the rich commercial interests described in the preceding chapter. Trouble soon followed. To understand China's reception of foreigners, the following considerations must be borne in mind.

First, the conservative temperament of the Chinese. It is true but misleading, to say that they have "no word or written character for patriotism but 150 ways of writing the characters for good luck and long life." While the Chinese may have little love for country, they have an intense devotion to their own customs. For nearly 5,000 years, while other empires had risen, flourished and fallen, they had lived apart, sufficient unto themselves, cherishing their own ideals, plodding along their well-worn paths, ignorant of or indifferent to

the progress of the western world, mechanically memorizing dead classics, and standing comparatively still amid the tremendous onrush of modern civilization. I say comparatively still, for if we carefully study Chinese history, we shall find that this vast nation has not been so inert as we have long supposed. The very revolutions and internal commotions of all kinds through which China has passed would have prevented mere inertia. But when we compare these movements and the changes that they have wrought with the kaleidoscopic transformations in Europe and America, China appears to have been a stationary nation. She has moved less in centuries than western peoples have in decades. The restless Anglo-Saxon is alternately irritated and awed by this massive solidity, not to say stolidity. There is, after all, something impressive about it, the impressiveness of a mighty glacier which moves slowly and majestically. So the duration of an ordinary nation's life appears insignificant as compared with the almost timeless majesty of the Chinese Empire.

Second, the vastness of China. Her territory and population are so enormous that her people found sufficient scope for their energies within their own borders. They therefore felt independent of outsiders. The typical European nation is so limited in area and is so near to equally civilized and powerful nations that it could not if it

would live unto itself. The situation of most peoples forces them into relations with others. But China had a quarter of the human race and a tenth of the habitable globe to herself, with no neighbors who had anything that she really cared for. It was inevitable, therefore, that a naturally conservative people should become a self-centred and self-satisfied people.

Third, the character of adjacent nations. None of them was equal to the Chinese in civilization and learning, while in territory and population they were relatively insignificant. Even Japan has only an eighth of China's population, while her remarkable progress in intelligence and power is a matter of a generation. Until recently, indeed, Japan was as backward as China and was not ashamed to receive many of her ideas from her larger neighbor, as the number of Chinese characters in the Japanese language plainly shows. As for China's other neighbors, who were they? Weak nations, which abjectly sent tribute by commissioners who groveled before the august Emperor of the Middle Kingdom, or barbarous tribes, which the Chinese regarded about as Americans regard the aboriginal Indians.

It is not surprising, therefore, that when foreigners from the distant West sought to force their way into China, the Chinese, knowing nothing of the countries from which they came, should have

regarded them in accordance with their traditional belief and policy regarding the inferiority of all outsiders.

The resultant difficulty was intensified by the indifference, to use no harsher term, of the foreigner to the fact that the Chinese are a very ceremonious people, extremely punctilious in all social relations and disposed to regard a breach of etiquette as a cardinal sin. "Face" is a national institution which must be preserved at all hazards. No one can get along with the Chinese who does not respect it. "It is an integral part of both Chinese theory and practice," says Dr. Arthur H. Smith, "that realities are of much less importance than appearances. If the latter can be saved, the former may be altogether surrendered. That is the essence of that mysterious 'face' of which we are never done hearing in China. Pope's familiar line might be the Chinese national motto: 'Act well your part, there all the honor lies.' The preservation of 'face' frequently requires that one should behave in an arbitrary and violent manner merely to emphasize his protests against the course of current events. He must fly into a violent rage, he must use reviling and perhaps imprecatory language, else it will not be evident to spectators that he is aware just what ought to be done by a person in his precise situation; and then he will have 'no way to descend from the stage,' or in other words

he will have lost 'face.' . . . An American bawls to a passer-by: 'Hello! is this the road to Boston?' Whereas a Chinese would say: 'Great Elder Brother, may I borrow your light to inquire whether this is the Imperial highway to Peking?' An American street-car conductor is hoarse from incessantly shouting: 'Step lively, lady, step lively!' We hear that under similar circumstances a Japanese conductor quietly waits for every passenger, and when an intersecting route is reached politely inquires: 'Does any honored guest desire a transfer to the Shimbashi line?'"

In these circumstances, it was very important that the relations of white men to China should be characterized not only by justice but by tact and respect for the feelings and customs of the people. The chief cause of China's hostility to foreigners undoubtedly lies in the notorious and often contemptuous disregard of these things by the majority of the white men who entered China and by the Governments which backed them. Nor did foreigners stop here. The early trading ships were usually armed, and they did not hesitate to use force in effecting their purpose.

But the nations of Europe, becoming convinced of the magnitude of the Chinese market, pressed resolutely on; and with the hope of creating a better understanding and of opening ports to trade, they sent envoys to China. The arrival of these

envoys precipitated a new controversy, for the Chinese Government from time immemorial considered itself the supreme Government of the world, and, not being accustomed to receive the agents of other nations except as inferiors, was not disposed to accord the white man any different treatment. The result was a series of collisions followed by territorial aggressions that were numerous enough to infuriate a more peaceably disposed people than the Chinese.

A full account of the negotiations would require a separate volume. For two generations, nation after nation sought to protect its growing interests in China and to secure recognition from the Chinese Government, only to be met by opposition that was sometimes courteous and sometimes sullen, but always inflexible until broken down by force. Each envoy was politely informed that the Chinese official concerned was extremely busy, that to his deep regret it would not be possible to grant an immediate conference, but that as soon as possible he would have pleasure in selecting a "felicitous day" on which they could hold a "pleasant interview"; and when the envoy, worn out by the never-ending procrastination, finally gave up in disgust and announced his intention of returning home, the typical Chinese official blandly replied, as the notorious Yeh did to United States Minister Marshall in January, 1854: "I avail myself of the

occasion to present my compliments, and trust that, of late, your blessings have been increasingly tranquil." [1] Scores of European and American diplomatic agents had substantially the same experience.

The treaty of 1858 gave some notable advantages to foreigners, for it conceded the right of other nations to send diplomatic representatives to Peking, permission to foreigners to travel, trade, and reside in an increasing number of places, and, on the persistent initiative of the French envoy, powerfully supported by the famous Dr. S. Wells Williams, Christianity was especially recognized.

"The charge that the famous Toleration Clause regarding Christian missions was smuggled into the treaty of 1858 is far from the truth," writes Dr. W. A. P. Martin, who aided Dr. Williams in conducting the negotiations. An edict granting toleration had been issued as early as 1845. This had been followed by more than ten years of missionary work at the newly opened ports, quite sufficient to make them acquainted with the character of Protestant missions. Of Roman Catholic missions prior to the edict, they had centuries of experience. Moreover, during our negotiations at Tien-tsin, they had ample time for a fresh study of the subject, the draft for our treaty being under daily discussion for more than a week before it was signed. Nor was our draft the first to bring up

[1] Foster, "American Diplomacy in the Orient," 205, 213.

the question of toleration. The Russian Treaty signed on June 13th (five days in advance of ours) contained one explicit provision for the toleration of Christianity under the form of the Greek Church; but it made no reference to Protestant or Roman Catholic. Not only was the American Treaty the first to give these a legal status, it gave the Chinese a sample of Christian teaching in the Golden Rule, which Dr. Williams inserted in the article expressly to show them what they were agreeing to. Never were negotiations more open and above board."

It was not until 1861, that legations were established in Peking. But while this gave foreign nations a foothold at the capital, it did not by any means give them the recognition that they demanded, for their intercourse with the Court was still hedged about with exactions and indignities. The Chinese were slow in coming to full recognition of diplomatic intercourse. But western nations steadily persisted. One by one new concessions were wrung from the reluctant Chinese, and finally China was forced to accept the new order and to send her own ministers and consuls to the capitals of Europe and America. A Foreign Office, or Department of State, as Americans would call it, was established in Peking under the name of Tsung-li Yamen. It was considered by the Chinese, however, as rather a subordinate bureau

and it was so managed that it was characterized by Dr. W. A. P. Martin as a micrometer screw contrived to diminish motion, and by Lord Salisbury as merely a machine to register the amount of pressure brought to bear upon it.

Diplomatic relations, once established, soon began to give the Chinese a better knowledge of other peoples. Students, travelers, merchants and coolies who had emigrated to America wrote back descriptions of what they found. The schools and colleges founded by Christian missionaries were acquainting their pupils with geography, political economy, the constitutions and governmental methods of modern nations. The Chinese began to learn that their political structure was not necessarily the best. Ere long, the great ideas of justice and the rights of the people, which underlie modern progressive government, worked their way among all classes of society, and impatience developed against abuses which had long been meekly accepted as inevitable.

The United States is more favorably regarded by the Chinese than most foreign nations, partly because a larger proportion of Americans in China are missionaries, so that the prevailing type is of a higher and more sympathetic class than the prevailing type of Europeans, who are more largely of the commercial class, and partly because the Chinese know that America has no territorial am-

Secretarial and Teaching Staff of Shanghai Young Men's Christian Association

bitions in China. But America is far from being loved, for the Chinese are greatly irritated by the ill-treatment of their countrymen in the United States. The Exclusion Law has been enforced in a way that the American Government would not tolerate if China were to adopt it against Americans. Injuries to the lives and property of Chinese in the United States are far more common than injuries to Americans in China, and the Chinese get less redress. The Chinese Minister to Washington said in an address in Chicago a few years ago: "More Chinese subjects have been murdered by mobs in the United States during the last twenty-five years than all the Americans who have been murdered in China in similar riots. . . . In every instance where Americans have suffered from mobs, the authorities have made reparation for the losses, and rarely has the punishment of death failed to be inflicted upon the guilty offenders. On the other hand, I am sorry to say that I cannot recall a single instance where the penalty of death has been visited on any member of the mobs in the United States guilty of the death of Chinese, and in only two instances out of many has indemnity been paid for the losses sustained by the Chinese."[1]

It is not without significance that the white man is generally designated in China as "the foreign devil."

[1] Quoted by A. H. Smith, "China and America Today," 165.

Not content with innumerable aggressions and extorted treaty concessions, western nations boldly discussed the dismemberment of China as certain to come, and writers disputed as to which country should possess the richest parts of the Empire whose impotence to defend itself was taken for granted. Chinese Legations in Europe and America reported these discussions to their superiors in Peking. The English papers in China republished some of the articles and added many of their own, so that speedily all the better-informed Chinese came to know that foreigners regarded China as "the carcass of the East."

Nor was all this talk empty boasting. China saw that France had absorbed Cambodia, Annam, Tong-king, and had designs on Siam; that Great Britain was lord of India, Egypt, and the Straits Settlements; that Germany was pressing her claims in Asiatic Turkey; that Russia had absorbed Siberia and was striving to obtain control of Palestine, Persia and Korea; and that Italy was trying to take Abyssinia. Moreover the Chinese perceived that of the numerous islands of the world, France had the Loyalty, Society, Marquesas, New Hebrides and New Caledonia groups, and claimed the Taumotu or Low Archipelago; that Great Britain had the Fiji, Cook, Gilbert, Ellice, Phoenix, Tokelau and New Zealand groups, northern Borneo, Tasmania, and the whole of continental

Australia, besides a large assortment of miscellaneous islands scattered over the world wherever they would do the most good; that Germany possessed the Marshall group, Northeast New Guinea, and divided with England the Solomons; that Spain had the Ladrones, the Carolines, the Philippines, and some enormously valuable holdings in the West Indies; that the Dutch ruled Java, Sumatra, the greater part of Borneo, all of Celebes and the hundreds of islands eastward to New Guinea, half of which was under the Dutch flag; that the new world power on the American continent took the Hawaiian Islands and in two swift campaigns drove Spain out of the West Indies and the Philippines, not to return them to their inhabitants but to keep them herself; and that in the Samoan and Friendly Islands, resident foreigners owned about everything worth having and left to the native chiefs only what the foreigners did not want or could not agree upon. As for mighty Africa, the Berlin Conference of 1884 was the signal for a game of grab on so colossal a scale that to-day out of Africa's 11,980,000 square miles, France owns 3,074,000, Great Britain 2,818,000, Turkey 1,672,000, Belgium 900,000, Portugal 834,000, Germany 864,000, Italy 596,000, and Spain 263,000—a total of 10,980,000, or ten-elevenths of the whole continent; and doubtless the Powers will take the remaining eleventh whenever

they feel like it. "Gobbling the globe," this process has been forcefully if inelegantly termed. No wonder that the white race has been bitterly described as "the most arrogant and rapacious, the most exclusive and intolerant race in history."

We can understand, therefore, the alarm of the Chinese as they saw the greedy foreigners descend upon their own shores in such ways as to justify the fear that what remained of the Celestial Empire would be speedily reduced to vassalage. Russia took virtual possession of Manchuria; Germany seized Kiao-chou Bay in the Province of Shantung; England's fortified base at Hong-kong commanded the mouth of the Pearl River, the gateway to all South China; France entrenched in Tongking was moving northward and was suspected of having designs on Yun-nan and the island of Hainan; while several European Powers ruled Shanghai, the key to the vast and populous Yang-tze Valley. In all China's coast line of 3,000 miles, she did not have a single harbor in which she could mobilize her own ships without the consent of the foreigner. A proud people were wounded in their most sensitive feelings by the ruthless and arrogant way in which foreigners broke down their cherished wall of separation from the rest of the world and trampled upon their venerated customs and institutions.

Shall we pretend innocent surprise that the irri-

tation of the Chinese rapidly grew? Suppose that after the murder of the Chinese in Rock Springs, Wyoming, some years ago, a Chinese fleet had seized New York, Boston, Charleston, and New Orleans. Would the American people have made any protest? Would the lives of Chinese have been safe on our streets? And was it an entirely base impulse that led the Chinese violently to oppose the forcible seizure of their country by aliens? The Empress Dowager declared in her now famous edict: "The various Powers cast upon us looks of tiger-like voracity, hustling each other in their endeavors to be first to seize upon our innermost territories. They think that China, having neither money nor troops, would never venture to go to war with them. They fail to understand, however, that there are certain things which this Empire can never consent to, and that if hard pressed, we have no alternative but to rely upon the justice of our cause, the knowledge of which in our breasts strengthens our resolves and steels us to present a united front against our aggressors."

This would have been called patriotic if it had emanated from the ruler of any other people.

The march of the allied armies upon Peking, the capture of the city, the flight of the Emperor and Empress Dowager, and the humiliating terms of peace convinced the Chinese of their helplessness before the modern equipment of western na-

tions and of the necessity of learning the methods of the white man if they were ever to hold their own against him. But defeat, while always hard to bear, does not always embitter the conquered against the conqueror. In considering, therefore, the effect upon the Chinese, we must bear in mind not so much the fact of defeat as the subsequent treatment which they received. Captain Frank Brinkley, editor of *The Japan Mail,* wrote: "It sends a thrill of horror through every white man's bosom to learn that forty missionary women and twenty-five little children were butchered by the Boxers. But in Tung-chou alone, a city where the Chinese made no resistance and where there was no fighting, 573 Chinese women of the upper classes committed suicide rather than survive the indignities they had suffered. Women of the lower classes fared similarly at the hands of the soldiers, but were not unwilling to survive their shame. With what show of consistency is the Occident to denounce the barbarity of the Chinese, when Occidental soldiers go to China and perpetrate the very acts which constitute the very basis of barbarity?"

In the pillaging of property, savages could not have been more lawless than the white men from "the highly civilized nations of the West." "It is not literally true," said a resident of Peking, "that every house in Peking was looted. There were some places in obscure alleys and in many of

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PAOTING-FU MARTYRS' MEMORIAL

In memory of missionaries who perished in the Boxer uprising, 1900

the innumerable and almost impenetrable *cul-de-sacs* with which the capital abounds that escaped. But persistent inquiry appears to leave no doubt of the fact that practically every yamen in the city has been rummaged, and practically there is nothing left of the contents of any of them." Even the places dedicated to science and religion were not spared. The celebrated Astronomical Observatory had not an instrument left. Every one was carried off by the orders of men high in authority at the French and German Legations, and the whole place was totally wrecked. What possible excuse could there have been for destroying a place for studying the heavens?

It was, of course, inevitable that much havoc should be wrought amid the tumult of war. It was necessary that supplies for half-naked and famished besieged thousands should be taken from deserted grain and clothing-shops. It was expedient that certain public buildings should be destroyed as a warning for the future. But why were soldiers and thieves allowed to steal the bric-à-brac and furniture and break the mirrors of the Emperor's personal apartments, wantonly shatter beautiful columns, deface rare works of art, punch holes in gilded statues, smash the heads of exquisitely-carved figures, and wreck venerable places associated with learning and art? The world is poorer for some of this havoc, and it will

be a generation before it can be remedied, if indeed some of the edifices are ever restored to their former beauty. Can we wonder that the Chinese continue to hate and fear the foreigner? The New York *Times* declared that " every outrage perpetrated on foreigners in China has been repaid tenfold by the brutalities perpetrated by the allied armies." " It is," added the editor, " simply monstrous that the armies of Christian nations, sent out to punish barbarism and protect the rights of foreigners in China, should themselves be guilty of barbarism. Revenge has been accompanied by mean and cruel and flagrant robbery. The story is one to fill all rational minds with disgust and shame."

The exasperation of the Chinese was not diminished by the virtual fortifications which the foreign Powers have since erected in the Imperial capital. Most of the Legations took advantage of the panic and confusion which followed the raising of the siege, to seize large tracts adjoining their former compounds. Massive walls were built and cannon mounted upon them. Over the water-gate in the city wall, through which the allied troops entered the city, the Powers cut a new gateway which they hold and guard. They took possession of all that part of the city wall which commands Legation Street, constructed several barricades and built a fort upon it opposite the German Legation. For-

eign soldiers patrol that wall night and day. On the other side of the Legations, a wide space was cleared by destroying hundreds of Chinese dwellings and shops, and no trees or obstructions of any kind are allowed on that space, which can thus be swept by rifle and machine-gun fire in the event of future trouble. Ample stores of arms, ammunition and food have been stored within the Legations, so that if another outbreak should occur, the Legations will not be as weak as they were in the memorable summer of 1900.

The Legations would be deemed lacking in ordinary prudence if they did not guard against the repetition of their grievous experiences during the Boxer Uprising. But looking at the matter from the view-point of the Chinese, can we marvel that it is resented? Would not a European Government be stung to the quick if other nations were to fortify themselves in that fashion at its capital? Would Americans endure it at Washington?

The forcible re-establishment of politically peaceful relations with western nations was followed by a new vehemence of commercial exploitation which was hardly less irritating to the Chinese. The victory of Japan over Russia, which had been regarded by the Chinese as the most powerful of western nations, awakened new hope of successful resistance. They, like the Japanese, are more and more disposed to resent the leadership of foreign-

ers. They feel an irritation, which we should be reasonable enough to understand, in realizing that the new railway thoroughfares of the country are largely in the hands of outsiders. Only 1,930 miles of the 6,300 in the Empire are under Chinese control. Russians hold 1,077 miles, Belgians 903, Japanese 702, Germans 684, English 608, and French 396. China is determined to put an end to this, and the Government refuses to grant any more railway concessions to foreigners. They propose to manage their own railways, operate their own mines and, in general, control their own affairs.

"The movement of what you call the Young China party," writes a Chinese gentleman in the Shanghai *News,* "erratic perhaps now in many ways, has its root in the intense feelings of the Chinese people that they have not been fairly treated by foreigners. The true aspiration at the bottom of this movement which is claiming China for the Chinese is to ask for a readjustment of our relations with foreigners on a just basis. In a word, the Chinese people want the foreigners in China to reform by knocking out of their heads the idea that God has created the three hundred odd million Chinese for the British and other nations to trade upon, to make a living out of them. The only way to abate the fever and intensity of feeling against foreigners is to begin the reform in

China at both ends, on the foreign side as well as on the Chinese side."

The war between Italy and Turkey has strengthened this feeling. Whatever the provocation for that war, the fact remains that the vernacular press of Asia quite generally regarded it as another evidence that the white man's ambitions in Asia and Africa are typified by the machine-gun rather than by the New Testament. *The National Review* of China cynically remarks:

When we call to mind the great pressure that has been brought to bear to get Turkey, Morocco, Persia and China out of the ancient ways, and when we note the fate that has awaited each of them at the hands of sympathetic Europe, how Persia has been bullied almost to death and Russian intriguers have supported her ex-Shah's attempt at a counter-revolution, how Morocco has been the cockpit of Europe for the past few months, how Turkey is now being driven at the point of the sword to commit national hara-kiri, and how China is alternately clubbed on the head and stroked on the back by her dear friends in the north or across the water, with the Powers of Europe observing a cynical neutrality, as they are doing at the moment in Europe, we are not in the least surprised that these ancient nations just re-awakening are somewhat slow to grasp the iron hand of friendship that is held out to them. The price of all victory is humility, but it need not involve humiliation deliberately heaped up by those who count themselves to have attained. Yet that is what too often the awakening nations of the East have to endure in order to be permitted to take a place on a platform a

little lower than the angels of the West. Is it that Europe fears Asia, now that Asia is waking up?

Truly, the Christianization of the contact of the West and the East is one of the most solemn and imperative of the necessities of this time of times. This a problem of modern international relationships which every Christian man and woman, at home and abroad, can help to solve.

CHAPTER IV

INTELLECTUAL AWAKENING AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

A large reconstructive influence has been exerted by the inrush of the intellectual ideas of the West. The missionaries in China, like the Pilgrim Fathers in New England, planted the church and the schoolhouse side by side. The educational work of missions in China has been developed until it now includes 2,029 elementary schools and 1,116 academies, colleges and normal, medical, theological and industrial schools. American missionary societies have been foremost in this educational work. Of the sixteen institutions of college grade in China, thirteen are American. Dr. Arthur H. Smith says that seventy-five per cent of the membership of the Educational Association of China, a body of practical teachers meeting triennially for the discussion of educational problems and for unity of action, is American; that the only institutions of college grade for Chinese women are American; and that the total number of American schools and colleges of all sorts is probably considerably in excess of one thousand. There are,

however, many institutions maintained by British and Continental Societies, and more are projected, including the Oxford-Cambridge University at Hankow.

Mission schools have long exerted wide influence. They taught Chinese boys and girls, who had always imagined that China was "The Middle Kingdom" surrounded by a fringe of semi-barbarians, that there were great and powerful nations which were considerably farther advanced in education and civilization than the Chinese. A people who had known nothing outside of their own history now heard of the history, literature, art, science and philosophy of other lands. A vast realm of thought and experience was thus opened to the astonished gaze of the Chinese. Naturally studious, they were quick to discern the significance of the new learning. All over China the tidings flew. The books of Europe and America began to be read, and presses had to be run at high pressure to supply the demand. The Chinese method of printing by blocks of wooden type gave way to modern metal type. Missionary printing establishments enlarged their facilities many fold and native presses sprang up in dozens of cities. Some of them now do a very large business, notably The Commercial Press in Shanghai, a great concern controlled and operated by Christian Chinese.

The Chinese had long made extensive use of

placards and posters as a means of communicating news; but prior to the Boxer Uprising, there was no vernacular press, except a few small publications in Peking and in one or two port cities. Over 200 Chinese newspapers are now published, one of them a woman's daily paper in Peking, and their circulation is large and rapidly growing. The official class, which at first paid little attention to them, awakened to the influence which they were exerting, and in 1909 a number of the more influential journals were bought up or subsidized by men connected with the Provincial governments. This did not promise to be a wholesome change, for these journals were actively promulgating reform. But the new intellectual life of the nation was beating too strongly to be repressed and the demand for reform soon became more insistent than ever.

Post-offices were also demanded by the new conditions. One reason why the Chinese have been so ignorant of the rest of the world and even of distant parts of their own country was the lack of facilities for transmitting mail. Missionaries in the interior had to get their mail by private messengers or a chance traveler. But now China has a modern post-office system which is being rapidly extended throughout the Empire. Beginning only a dozen years ago under the superintendence of Sir Robert Hart, by 1902 there were 446 post-offices.

In 1907 the number had risen to 2,803, in 1908 to 3,493, in 1909 to 3,973, and it has now passed the four thousand mark, one of the latest offices being in Lhasa, the once inaccessible capital of Tibet. The number of pieces handled has increased as follows: 1904, 66,000,000; 1905, 76,500,000; 1906, 113,000,000; 1907, 168,000,000; 1908, 252,000,000; 1909, 292,000,000. The postal routes now in operation cover no less than 88,000 miles. The Christian Literature Society of Shanghai used these mail facilities to send out 277,000 posters explaining Halley's Comet to people who, but a few years before, would have been frightened out of their wits by it as a supernatural manifestation.

A dozen years ago, the telegraph service connected only a few cities near the coast, and the telephone was unknown. Now 40,000 miles of wire reach all the principal centres of population, including the 181 prefectural cities, while hundreds of yamens are equipped with telephones.

Mission schools were, for a long time, the only institutions in the entire country which gave their pupils a modern education. But within recent years, the Chinese began to feel that the time had come to do away with their antiquated schools whose instruction was confined to memorizing Confucian classics and writing rhetorical essays on selected sentences. One of the most characteristic features of old China was the examination essay

for literary degrees on some Chinese subject relating to a remote past. But Imperial Edicts of 1901 and 1905 abolished this time-honored custom and directed that candidates for degrees and offices should submit short essays on western science, governments, laws and kindred subjects. Immediately there was a rush of eager students to the mission schools and the missionary teachers were almost swamped with applicants. Chinese bought western books as never before; examinations could not be passed without them. Dr. Timothy Richard of Shanghai reported that a quarter of a million dollars' worth of text-books were sold in that city in 1902, a single order received by the Presbyterian Press involving a bill of $328 for postage alone, as the buyer insisted that the books should be sent by mail. Never before had a stroke of the Vermilion Pencil wrought such far-reaching results.

A joint report to the Throne by Viceroy Chang Chih-tung and Chang Pei-hsi, Chancellor of Peking University, led to an Imperial decree which ordered a new system of government education. The plan calls for a university at the capital of each Province, with auxiliary prefectural and district colleges and schools, the whole system to culminate in an Imperial University in Peking. In all these institutions, western arts and sciences are to be taught side by side with the old Confucian

classics. An Imperial Edict of 1908 reads: "All boys over eight years of age must go to school, or their parents or relatives will be punished. If they have no relatives, the officials will be held responsible for their education." "The Viceroys and Governors of Provinces are commanded to order their subordinates to hasten the establishment of these schools. Let this decree be published through the Empire." An Imperial Board of Education was established in 1905. Engineering courses are given at the following institutions: Imperial Polytechnic Institute at Shanghai; Imperial University of Shan-si at Tai-yuan-fu; Engineering and Mining College at Tang-shan; and Imperial Pei-yang University at Tien-tsin. There are 50 educational institutions in Mukden alone, in which the total number of students is estimated to be 7,500. One law school has 700 students, and one of the three normal schools is preparing to accommodate 1,000.

The number of government schools of all grades now under the Imperial Bureau of Education is 42,000 with 64,000 instructors and 875,000 pupils. The intention is to provide one elementary school for every 400 families in the Empire within five years and school accommodations for 45,000,000 children within ten years. The old examination halls are weed-grown ruins, while the new educational system is represented by buildings

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NEW GOVERNMENT SCHOOL, CANTON

Built on the ruins of 11,616 cells of examination halls

stately in architecture and modern in appointments. The Government University buildings in Canton stand on the site of 11,616 cells of the old examination halls. I visited the high school of the eight Manchu Banners in Peking and found American text-books in the hands of sons of Manchu noblemen. I examined several of the Government institutions and can testify to the elaborateness of their equipment, although the educational work is usually of poor quality. They are hampered by lack of suitable teachers and text-books and by political influences which give coveted positions to mere office-holders rather than to competent educators; but however imperfect the system may be at present, the significant thing is that the beginnings of a modern educational development have been made.

The new conditions are undermining idolatry. In a village near Pang Chuang, the Chinese dumped the accumulated idols from their temple into a hole dug in a field and delivered over the temple for a new school so that their children might learn to read and write. An old man near Peking, who had laboriously saved up a few hundred dollars to repair a ruined temple, was rebuked by the local official for encouraging superstition instead of putting his money into schools; and the Police Commissioner of Tien-tsin issued an order prohibiting offerings to the dead on the an-

nual festival of All Souls and advised the people to put into the educational fund the money that they had planned to spend on sacrifices.

Tens of thousands of Chinese are learning the English language. Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill and many other writers on philosophy and political economy are diligently read. The Government, in 1910, issued an Edict authorizing the use of English in scientific and technical instruction. Railway tickets and time-tables are usually printed in both English and Chinese, and several colleges, like St. John's in Shanghai and the Canton Christian College in Canton, find that the readiness of their students to acquire English is so great that it is practicable to do class-room work in English.

A number of ambitious youths, who had received their early training in mission schools or from contact with the new intellectual movement which the missionaries had inaugurated, went to Europe or America to complete their education in the best western colleges and universities. In due time, some of the Governors and Viceroys and even the Imperial Government were led to send selected young men abroad for this purpose. When they returned to China, they were at first received with suspicion and dislike, and some were even imprisoned for alleged disloyalty. But gradually their superior training began to tell and

they were placed in positions of influence. I have a list of Chinese who were educated in the United States who, before the outbreak of the Revolution, were occupying or had occupied official posts as Cabinet Ministers, Tao-tais, Ministers to Great Britain, America, Germany, Mexico, Peru and Spain, Secretaries of Legations and Consuls-General in several different countries, Directors-General of Customs, Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Imperial Departments in Peking, Chief Engineers, directors and builders of railways, managers and assistant managers of Government Telegraphs, Imperial Delegates to International Opium Conferences, directors of docks and engineering works, high posts in the army and navy, and many other positions. President Taft stated in an address in New Haven, Conn., in 1908, that during his travels in China, he "had found Yale men (Chinese) as governors, secretaries and advisers of those forces which are struggling to make more of the Chinese Empire."

The Japanese were eager to counsel the Chinese in this formative period. For two or three years after the Russia-Japan War, their prestige was great, and China appeared to be willing to follow the ambitious islanders. Japanese advisers were influential in shaping Chinese military and political affairs, and thousands of Chinese students flocked to Japan for instruction. In 1907, the number had

risen to 15,000. But ere long the sentiment of the Chinese began to change. They were offended by the assumption of superiority which has characterized the Japanese since their victory over Russia. For this reason, together with others, the number of Chinese students in Japan rapidly dwindled to 3,000. It should be said that the larger number included many who rushed to Japan in the first enthusiasm which followed the Russia-Japan War, and that the smaller number was composed of more earnest and intelligent men. But Japanese agents who tried to influence China's policy found themselves rebuffed. An educated Chinese gentleman, with whom I discussed this subject, said rather contemptuously: "Japan is too small and too poor to help China, either in finance or in war, and her people are so immoral that contact with them would be harmful rather than helpful to the Chinese. China wants the best there is in the world, and as all nations are now open to her, she can get the best. Why should we take ideas from Japan when the difference between China and Japan and China and Europe or America is only the difference between six days and fourteen days? What are eight days, especially when they mean superior influences?" When a well-meaning foreigner proposed a memorial service in Shanghai after the assassination of Prince Ito, Chinese who were consulted opposed it so strongly that the proj-

ect had to be abandoned. They declared that they saw no reason why Chinese should honor a Japanese statesman, and particularly one who represented the Asiatic ambitions of Japan.

After the American Government returned to China the large part of the Boxer indemnity that was not needed to meet actual losses, the Chinese Government decided, in consultation with our Department of State, to apply some of it to send to schools and colleges in the United States one hundred young men annually for four years and then fifty for twenty-nine years, each student to take a course of seven years. In order that these youths might be carefully selected and given the necessary preparatory training, Ching Hua Academy was established in Peking to which nominated youths are sent from the various Provinces. There were 350 students in this school when the Revolution broke out and the faculty was composed of western trained teachers. There are now about 700 Chinese students in the United States and an increasing number of the leaders of the new China are graduates of American institutions.

Most of the students of modern learning in China were in sympathy with the Revolution. It is estimated that at least ninety-five per cent of those who received part of their education in other lands became, on their return, leaders of revolutionary thought.

The language of China is being adapted to the changing conditions. A young missionary writes: "There are six of us studying Chinese together. Our teachers tell us that we must pay more attention than is usually given to the new words now coming into use. I do not mean the host of scientific terms being turned into Chinese; but the miscellaneous phrases coined chiefly since 1900 to meet the needs of the new style of thought. These expressions have gained currency mainly through the newspapers, and so we go to the newspapers to find them, rather than to the sinologues whose vocabularies were acquired in ante-Boxer days. There is one new word that everybody glibly recites to the inquiring newcomer; it is the word for an ideal, meaning literally, the thing you have your eye on. A fit companion to this is a new way of speaking of a man's purpose in life, his magnetic needle points in such and such a direction. A group of new expressions with the following meanings: society, reform, the public good, constitutional government, protection of life, taking the initiative, removing obstructions, to volunteer one's services, indicate the direction in which the winds of thought are blowing in China. The newspapers now have a word meaning 'rotten,' which they apply freely to mandarins, to the army, to schools and to things in general. Freedom of religion is another new phrase in Chinese; so is a term mean-

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CHINESE STUDENTS IN THE UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES OF THE UNITED STATES

There are at present about 700 Chinese young men being educated in the United States under the Boxer Indemnity Fund

ing to educate, as distinguihsed from to instruct. The use of the latter was illustrated by a distinguished Chinese (not a Christian) when he declared that a missionary school in Tien-tsin was better than the Confucian schools, because it educates its pupils, developing them both in morals and knowledge; whereas the Chinese practice is to hand out chunks of learning and ethical advice for pupils to swallow or not as they choose."

The new life that is stirring the people affects women as well as men. Many schools for girls have been established. The late Empress Dowager ordered a large Lama convent to be turned over to a school for girls and directed the Imperial High Commissioners who were sent in 1906 to study American institutions to give special attention to the institutions for the education of women. An order of the Imperial Board of Education decreed that only girls whose feet were not bound should be admitted to the schools under government supervision.

A writer in a Hong-kong journal says: "Not the most optimistic revolutionary, who from the view-point of twenty years ago looked forward to the changes that then seemed impending, would have dared to prophesy an overturning and recasting so complete as that which now meets the gaze in certain aspects of social and political life in China. Few things have been more rapid or

more startling than the emancipation of women, and the acquiescence of officials and other responsible leaders among the people in the position of women as a leading factor in public life. The Orientalized woman in the chief centres of intellectual activity is a creature of the past. She is becoming every year more Occidental in respect to the position claimed by her, and accorded to her, as a figure in the new world. National spirit in its most potent forms, working for good or for evil, is raised to the highest plane of effectiveness when it dominates womanhood."

A remarkable meeting of women was held in Canton in 1908. An Oriental correspondent describes the meeting thus: "The meeting, convened in connection with the difficulty between China and Japan, was a unique one. The proceedings were conducted in a perfectly orderly manner, and stirring addresses were made for four hours. The weather conditions were wholly adverse; but notwithstanding the drenching rain that fell continuously, fully ten thousand women came together at the place of meeting. For the first time in the history of this great commercial centre, the main thoroughfares were kept open by properly appointed police, told off for the duty of regulating the traffic in order to facilitate the progress of the wives and daughters of its citizens to a meeting in which they were to vindicate their claim to be

heard in indignant protest against national injustice and wrong." One can only imagine what the editor would have said if he had known that in 1912 Chinese suffragettes would storm the National Assembly in Nanking and smash windows in the most approved London style.

Christian education has come into special prominence. Missionary schools and colleges are far superior in grade of work to the government institutions, and our schools are limited only by their equipment and financial support. The superiority of men trained in the mission schools is quickly apparent. Mr. Robert F. Fitch says that when, in 1907, the Viceroy of Nanking sought five men to become his advisers and offered a salary of four hundred dollars a month, the men whom he selected were all Christians, graduates of Christian colleges in China, three having also studied in America. Of the twelve men who received the highest degrees at the Imperial examination in Peking, the same year, one was a graduate of Cambridge University and the other eleven were graduates of American (Christian) colleges in China and in our own country. The strongest man, a fine Christian, became the leading member of the Board of Education for all China. Mr. Chang Po Ling, Principal of the school in Tien-tsin founded by the Imperial Minister of Education, Dr. Yen, to be a model for all China,

is an active Christian and a man of great influence.

Everywhere throughout that mighty mass of population, the ideas of the West are working. An intellectual awakening of stupendous proportions is taking place. No longer is the ambitious Asiatic content with the classics of Confucius; he is studying the very things that Americans are studying. Ambitious young men of China will get a modern education, and they will get it either from a Christian or a non-Christian. Has this fact any message to the universities and colleges of Europe and America?

Unfortunately, the stream of educational and other influences from the West has been contaminated by many of the vices which disgrace our civilization. The average youth of a generation ago simply had the temptations of his local community; the average youth of to-day has the temptations of the world. The ethnic religions did not have many restraints, and what they had are disappearing. Everywhere I found thoughtful men lamenting that the temptations of the new era are worse than the temptations of the old.

It is lamentable that the effort of Christianity to deal effectively with the situation in China is seriously embarrassed by anti-Christian influences at home. The extent to which the worst elements of Europe and America are reinforcing the powers

of evil in Asia and Africa is one of our gravest problems. The very knowledge of the world that has helped to bring about such changes in China has taught the Chinese that the so-called Christian nations are characterized by much that is selfish and greedy and lustful. Religion to the Asiatic is a national rather than an individual matter. He imagines that western nations are Christian nations, and when he sees them trying to despoil his territory and sees that their relations with his country are characterized by trickery and deceit, he naturally concludes that he does not want the religion of such a country.

The conduct of many foreigners in the Far East has long been a cause of irritation to the Chinese and one of the serious obstacles to missionary effort. It is small wonder that the average Oriental distrusts and fears white men when he observes what many of them are and what they do. The history of the commercial and political relationships of western nations with eastern nations is not comfortable reading for those who seek to inculcate sentiments of mutual respect and good will. "There are many humorous things in the world," observes Mark Twain; "among them the white man's notion that he is less savage than the other savages." I found the following "Special Notice" conspicuously posted in a dozen places about the Ming Tombs near Nanking:

Owing to past acts of vandalism and defacement of the Imperial tablets, monuments and ancient relics in the vicinity of the Ming Tombs, palings have been erected by order of His Excellency, Viceroy Tuan Fang, for the preservation of same. Visitors are therefore hereby requested to abstain from entering within the said palings or doing anything that may be detrimental to the said Imperial tablets, monuments and relics in this vicinity.

Wan, Tao-tai.
Liang-kiang, Bureau of Foreign Affairs.
Yang, Prefect of Kiang-ning.

This was printed in English, French, Russian, German, Italian and Japanese, but not in Chinese —that was not necessary. A glance at the arches, monuments and buildings afforded humiliating evidence not only of the necessity for the notice but of the nationality of those for whom it was intended. Objects sacred to the Chinese were grossly disfigured by names and other marks scrawled and cut upon the stone and woodwork, most of them in English. Who can blame the Chinese for hating and despising foreigners who do such things?

The foreign communities in the ports of Asia include a larger number of men and women of high character than formerly. There are some splendid people in those cities; but the proportion of the dissolute is still painfully great. When Judge Wilfley went to Shanghai to open the first United States Court in China, the term "Ameri-

can girl" was popularly understood to mean an exceptionally attractive woman of ill-repute. He drove out the prostitutes, but they returned after he left and to-day, as in former years, every port in the Far East swarms with bad characters of both sexes from Europe and America. The worst men in the Far East to-day are not Chinese or Japanese or Koreans; they are degenerate white men. Read what Mr. Taft said in his official reports as Governor-General of the Philippine Islands regarding the personal character—or rather lack of personal character—of many Americans in that region. Read the article[1] of Mr. Robert Murray about the moral cesspool in the American section of Shanghai. I agree with the Hon. John Fowler, American Consul at Chefoo, in the statement that a Chinese who sincerely worships a stone image is a better man to deal with and a more promising man to convert than a white man who does not believe in anything. The former at least reveres the best that he knows. The latter, knowing the better, ignores it. The most hopeless individual anywhere is the one who, understanding truth, refuses to conform his life to it. Every Chinese is a Confucian and a Buddhist, and he imagines that every white man is a Christian. Christianity therefore has to bear the reproach of men from the West who deliberately reject its teachings. The

[1] *The Cosmopolitan*, October, 1908.

evil acts of one foreigner are charged against the white race, as in pioneer days in the American colonies, a settler whose wife had been killed by an Indian took his revenge by indiscriminately shooting all the Indians he could find. Any hatred that the Chinese may have against Christianity is due, not so much to its religious teachings as to its identification with the foreign nations whose religion Christianity is supposed to be.

Most of the criticisms of missionaries which find their way into newspapers emanate from these dissolute foreigners. The missionaries do not gamble, drink whisky or keep mistresses, and so they are sneered at as "canting hypocrites" and are believed to be doing "no good" by the critic who has never visited a Chinese Christian church, school or hospital in his life. The editor of *The Japan Mail* justly remarks: "We do not suggest that these newspapers which denounce the missionaries so vehemently desire to be unjust or have any suspicion that they are unjust. But we do assert that they have manifestly taken on the color of that section of every far eastern community whose units, for some strange reason, entertain an inveterate prejudice against the missionary and his works. Were it possible for these persons to give an intelligent explanation of the dislike with which the missionary inspires them, their opinions would command more respect. But they

Track Team of a Preparatory School

have never succeeded in making any logical presentment of their case, and no choice offers except to regard them as the victims of an antipathy which has no basis in reason or reflection. That a man should be anti-Christian and should devote his pen to propagating his views is strictly within his right, and we must not be understood as suggesting that the smallest reproach attaches to such a person. But on the other hand, it is within the right of the missionary to protest against being arraigned before judges habitually hostile to him, and it is within the right of the public to scrutinize the pronouncements of such judges with much suspicion."

May we not justly insist that nations as well as individuals shall abandon the methods of brutality and rapine? If we expect to influence the Chinese for good, we must not preach one thing as a Church and the opposite thing as a nation. It is not true, as some have alleged, that the Chinese cannot understand justice and magnanimity. Even if it were true, it would not follow that we should be unjust and pitiless. Let us instruct them in the higher things. But as a matter of fact, the Chinese are as amenable to reason as any people in the world. Their temperament, inertia and long isolation from the remainder of mankind have made them slow to grasp a new idea. But they will get it if they are given reasonable time, and

when they do once get it, they will hold it. Fairness and humanity in all dealings with the Chinese, while not perhaps wholly preventing outbreaks of hostility, will at least give less occasion for them.

It is painfully clear that unchristian white men in China and the unchristian policies of western nations help to undermine old foundations without building new ones, and thus make conditions worse than they were before. *The Christian Register* well says, that "the more we open the world to what we call civilization, and the more education we give it of the kind we call scientific, the greater are the dangers to modern society, unless in some way we contrive to make all the world better. Brigands armed with repeating rifles and supplied with smokeless gunpowder are brigands still, but ten times more dangerous than they were before. The vast hordes of human beings in Asia and Africa, so long as they are left in seclusion, are dangerous to their immediate neighbors; but, when they have railroads, steamboats, tariffs, and machine-guns, while they retain their savage ideals and barbarous customs, they become dangerous to all the rest of the world."

An irreligious civilization is always and everywhere a curse rather than a blessing. From the Garden of Eden down, the fall of man has resulted in what George Adam Smith calls "the increase of knowledge and of power unaccompanied by rever-

ence. . . . No evolution is stable which neglects the moral factor or seeks to shake itself free from the eternal duties of obedience and of faith. . . . The Song of Lamech echoes from a remote antiquity the savage truth that 'the first results of civilization are to equip hatred and render revenge more deadly . . . a savage exultation in the fresh power of vengeance which all the novel instruments have placed in their inventor's hands.' "

Unless our best Christian men and women go to China to teach and exemplify a nobler faith, the last state of the Chinese will be worse than the first.

CHAPTER V

QUICKENING AND CONSTRUCTIVE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

Fortunately, a nobler and more constructive influence has been operating in China, the most enlightening and quickening of all influences—the Christian teachings which were brought by missionaries from the West. The story of Christian Missions to the Chinese is one of extraordinary interest, a story of toil and struggle, of privation and danger, of large success and consequent responsibility. As far back as the first decade of the sixth century, Nestorian monks appear to have begun a mission in China. Romance and tragedy are suggested by the few known facts regarding that early movement. Partly impelled by conviction, partly driven by persecution, those faithful souls traveled beyond the bounds of the Roman Empire and rested not till they had made the formidable journey across deserts and mountains to "the land of Sinim." A quaint monument at Hsian-fu, the capital of Shen-si, is the only remaining trace of what must have been an interesting and perhaps a thrilling missionary enterprise.

The Roman Catholic effort began in 1293, when John de Corvino succeeded in reaching Peking. The failure of his effort was followed by two and a half centuries of silence, and then, in 1552, the heroic Francis Xavier set his face towards China, only to be prostrated by fever on the Island of Sancian. As he despairingly realized that he would never be able to set his foot on that still impenetrable land, he moaned: "Oh, Rock, Rock, when wilt thou open?" and passed away. In 1581, another Jesuit, Matteo Ricci, entered Canton in the guise of a Buddhist priest. He managed to remain, and twenty years later he went to Peking. In him Roman Catholicism gained a permanent foothold in China, and although it was often fiercely persecuted and at times reduced to feebleness, it never became wholly extinct. Gradually it extended its influence until, in 1672, the priests reported 300,000 baptized Chinese, including children. In the nineteenth century, the growth of the Roman Church was rapid. It is now strongly intrenched in all the Provinces, and in most of the leading cities its power is great. There are to-day 1,201 foreign priests, 550 Chinese priests, 291 lay brothers, 3,846 sisters, 6,025 churches and chapels, 986,168 members, 426,480 catechumens, 5,621 schools and 514 charitable institutions.[1]

[1] "World Atlas of Christian Missions."

It is not to the credit of Protestantism that it was centuries behind the Roman Church in the attempt to Christianize China. It was not till 1807 that the first Protestant missionary arrived. On January 31st of that year, Robert Morrison, then a youth of twenty-five, sailed alone from London under appointment by the London Missionary Society. The East India Company would not allow a missionary on any of its ships, and Morrison came to New York to see if he could secure passage on an American vessel. Here he met a Presbyterian elder with the formidable name of David Washington Cincinnatus Olyphant. But David Washington Cincinnatus Olyphant owned a line of ships, and when he learned of young Morrison's purpose he gave him free passage to China. If, therefore, England deserves the credit for furnishing the first Protestant missionary for China, America deserves the credit of getting him there. Everyone has heard of the remark in the shipowner's office: "And so, Mr. Morrison, you really expect that you will make an impression on the idolatry of the great Chinese Empire?" If Mr. Olyphant was the questioner, the words could not have been spoken in derision, as commonly supposed. At any rate, Morrison's answer has become historic: "No sir, I expect God will."

And so the young man sailed on the good ship *Trident* the middle of May. When on the

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ROBERT MORRISON AND HIS CHINESE TEACHERS

Translating the Bible into Chinese

eighth day of September, that solitary, friendless man landed upon the soil of China, a new era dawned, for the mightiest reconstructive and uplifting force in the world—the preaching of the open Bible—began to operate in that ancient Empire.

He met suspicion and opposition. His own countrymen were hostile to his purpose and his Chinese language teachers were impatient and insolent. He was obliged to present Christianity behind locked doors to the few Chinese whom he dared approach. In these circumstances, he naturally gave his energies largely to language study and translation, and in 1810 he had the joy of issuing a thousand copies of a Chinese version of the Book of Acts.

Seven weary, discouraging years passed before Morrison baptized his first convert, July 16, 1814, and even then he had to administer the sacrament at a lonely spot where unfriendly eyes could not see him. There is something inspiring in the thought of that lonely young man, enduring and toiling with fortitude undaunted, with resolution superb, until he had attained splendid success. Progress was painfully slow. At his death in 1834, there were only three Chinese Christians in the whole Empire. Successors carried on the effort, but the door was not yet open, and the work was done against many obstacles and chiefly in

secret till the treaty of Nanking, in 1842, opened the five ports of Amoy, Canton, Foo-chow, Ningpo and Shanghai. Missionaries who had been waiting in the neighboring lands promptly entered these cities. Eagerly they looked to the great population in the interior, but they were practically confined to the ports named till 1858, when the treaty of Tien-tsin opened other cities and officially conceded the rights of missionary residence and labor.

The work now spread more rapidly, not only because it was conducted in more centres and by a larger force of missionaries, but because it was carried into the interior regions by Chinese who had heard the Gospel in the ports. The following table is eloquent:

1807	0	communicants
1814	1	"
1834	3	"
1842	6	"
1853	350	"
1857	1,000	"
1865	2,000	"
1876	13,515	"
1886	28,000	"
1889	37,287	"
1893	55,093	"
1897	80,682	"
1903	114,687	"
1910	278,628	"

The present scale of Protestant missionary work is indicated by the following statistics[1]: 4,299 foreign missionaries, 11,661 Chinese ministers, teachers and evangelists, 3,485 stations and outstations, 2,029 primary schools, 1,116 academies, colleges, industrial, medical, nurses' and normal schools, 170 hospitals, 14 orphanages, 16 leper asylums, 3 homes for untainted children of lepers, 11 institutions for the blind and for deaf mutes, 5 rescue homes for fallen women, 100 opium refuges, 2 industrial homes, 1 asylum for the insane, 2,341 churches with 278,628 members, a Christian community of 750,000, and property valued at millions of dollars. The work has been marvelously prospered, the net gain since the Boxer Uprising of 1900 being nearly two hundred per cent. The Bible has been translated and, with the generous aid of the Bible Societies, 46,400,000 copies have been printed and distributed; while myriads of scripture portions and Christian tracts and books are pouring from mission presses.

It would be difficult to overestimate the silent and yet mighty energy represented by such work, steadily continued through a long series of years and representing the life labors of thousands of devoted men and women and an annual expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars. True, the number of Christians is small in comparison

[1] "World Atlas of Christian Missions."

with the population of the country, but the Gospel has been aptly compared to a seed. Lodged in the crevice of a rock, a seed will thrust its thread-like roots into tiny fissures and in time they will rend the rock asunder and firmly hold a stately tree. The seed of the Gospel has been planted in the Chinese nation. It is a seed of indestructible vitality and irresistible transforming power. It has taken root, and the extraordinary transformations that are taking place in China are, in part at least, the results of its tremendous expansive force.

The National Review, a secular journal in Shanghai, said editorially, November 12, 1910, at the time of the demand of the Chinese people for a constitution and parliament: "It would be very difficult indeed to say where and when the movement for constitutional reform was born, but we do not think we should be very far wrong if we dated it in 1807 when Robert Morrison first set foot in China. From that event dates the opening, the very slow opening, of China's eyes to her own defects and weaknesses, and it has been from the successors of Morrison, in their thousands, that the fuller enlightenment of China has come. It has been the influence of these men, especially through the literature that they have produced, that has made possible the events of the past few days."

Mr. F. A. M'Kenzie, the famous newspaper correspondent, now editor of the London *Times*, wrote after his long journey through China: "The missionaries are the men who began the work of awakening China. . . . Their work is not to be measured by their enrolled converts. They have been the pioneers battering down prejudices and misunderstandings. They have shown the people what western civilization means. They brought modern medical knowledge to China and China is now adopting it. They brought western learning. They have been not only the teachers of religion but the advance agents of civilization. To me it seems that in the missionary movement in China to-day we have, despite mistakes, misunderstandings, and a proportion of unsuitable men, one of the most splendid exhibitions of Anglo-Saxon altruism the world has ever seen."

Is Christianity then responsible for the Revolution? If by responsibility is meant either inciting men to revolt or having anything to do with insurrections, the answer is an unequivocal No. It is foolish to say that the missionary is responsible for the prompt appearance of "the consul and the gunboat." The true missionary goes forth without either consul or gunboat. He devotes his life to unselfish altruistic labor. He relies not upon man, but upon God. But as soon as his work begins to tell, the trader appears to buy and sell in

the new market. The statesman casts covetous eyes on the opened territory. Then the consul is sent, not because the missionary asks for him, but because his Government chooses to send him. Sooner or later some local trouble occurs, usually precipitated by the business agent or the political envoy, and the Government takes advantage of the opportunity to further its territorial or commercial ambitions.

As for changes within the non-Christian nation, violence is not a part of the program of Jesus. His law is love and its out-working in human society is peaceful. But Christianity inculcates righteousness, justice, brotherhood and liberty. When unrighteousness, injustice and despotism are intrenched and defiantly refuse to yield, trouble becomes inevitable. The breaking out of such trouble does not mean that righteousness should not have been preached; it does not mean that men should have been left in oppression and ignorance and superstition. It means that life everywhere is the foe of death, that righteousness everywhere is the foe of wrong, light the foe of darkness.

The scope of this book does not permit an extended account of the missionary movement in China. It has been given in many volumes that are easily accessible. Nearly all the Christian Churches, European and American, are represented and their missionaries are teaching the

young, healing the sick, translating the Word of God, creating a wholesome literature, and preaching everywhere and with a fidelity beyond all praise the truths of the Christian religion. Self-sacrificing devotion and patient persistence in well-doing are written on every page of the history of missions in China, while emergencies have developed deeds of the noblest heroism.

I visited China in 1901 and again in 1909. The contrast was remarkable. In 1901, there were less than 100,000 Protestant Christians in China. Several station plants were in ruins, while the buildings in a number of others had been looted. The fires of the Boxer Uprising were still smoldering, though the period of actual violence had passed. The women of the northern and central Missions were huddled in the treaty ports. Some of the men had returned to the interior stations, but they were living in temporary quarters and in much discomfort. Everyone was appalled by the apparent ruin of the work and the massacre of beloved associates. Many of the Chinese Christians had been murdered. Some of the survivors were scattered no one knew where, and the few that could be found were depressed and poverty-stricken. It was pitiful to look into their faces and heartrending to hear the stories of what they had suffered. The allied armies of Europe and America had crushed the Boxer Uprising, but the people

were sullen and ugly. At home, too, there was a renewed outbreak of criticism and of hostility to all missionary effort. Many believed that the missionary enterprise in China had received a blow from which it would never recover. No Chinese, it was said, would ever again confess Christ.

How different the situation in 1909! The destroyed stations had been rebuilt on a larger scale than before, and they are now among the best equipped plants. Every station that had to be abandoned had been reoccupied, property that was not destroyed had been put in order, new buildings had been added, and the missionary force had been increased. Missionaries traveled freely through every part of the country, from which they had been driven by the Boxers. More Chinese were baptized during these eight years than in half a century preceding the Boxer Uprising. The Rev. J. Campbell Gibson, D.D., noted a wider contrast at the Centenary Conference of 1907: "The great achievement of the first century of Protestant Missions in China has been the planting of the Chinese Church. A vast amount of contributory work has been done—evangelistic, pastoral, educational, medical, literary, social—and a large experience has been gained which should enable us to direct all these with growing precision and force to the attainment of their ends. A great multitude of men, women and children have been led into light.

This body of Christians, with its equipment of gathered spiritual experience, of Bible, hymnology and Christian literature, its places of worship, its churches, schools, colleges, hospitals and printing presses, its ordinances of worship, its discipline of prayer, and its habits of family and personal religion, with its martyrology, and its gathered memories of gracious living and holy dying—this is the wonderful fruit which one hundred years have left in our hands."

The last three years have been marked by some remarkable manifestations of spiritual power. The revival in the Arts College of the Shantung Christian University, at Wei-hsien in 1909, was one of the most hopeful movements in the history of missions. It began quietly and continued without any artificial efforts to work up excitement. Prof. H. W. Luce writes:

One of the graduates of the College, the Rev. Ding Li Mei, began special services March 30th. The number of those deciding for the ministry increased to twenty and then to thirty. There seemed to be no undue excitement of any kind, no adequate outward manifestation of emotion. The number increased to sixty and then to eighty. Saturday night, Mr. Ding conducted a "witness meeting" in which those who had decided for the ministry gave their reasons. Only one man wept, and none broke down. But all were conscious of a closeness of approach of the Holy Spirit such as they had never known before. This spirit continued through Sunday with unabated

strength, and it was found that 116 had volunteered for the ministry. The number of the students in the College is 300 and in the Academy 80. It is a mighty challenge to the young Church in Shantung, as indeed it is to the Church at home, that they fail not in prayer and aid at such a time as this.

The Arts College of the North China Union Colleges at Tung-chou, near Peking, witnessed similar scenes. Following the meetings held by the Rev. Ding Li Mei, 81 of the 150 students decided to study for the ministry and 50 others consecrated themselves to Christian work in other professions. We have long been hoping and praying for the appearance of educated Chinese who would give themselves to the ministry of Christ among their own people. God has now answered this prayer in a startling manner.

Many in the home Church are following with sympathetic interest the remarkable career of the Chinese minister referred to, the Rev. Ding Li Mei. He has become, under God, a mighty spiritual force in China. He has held meetings in many different parts of the country, and he preaches the Gospel with such directness and power and supports it by a life of such evident devotion that the effect upon the Chinese is profound. No other evangelist in all the world is being more wonderfully used of God at this time than this consecrated Chinese.

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Rev. Ding Li Mei and Family

Much might also be said about the great awakening in Manchuria in connection with the preaching of the Rev. J. Goforth, of the Canadian Presbyterian Church. The pamphlet, "Times of Blessing in Manchuria," recounts stirring experiences. During the year 1910, Mr. Goforth conducted services in twenty-eight centres in different sections of China. In Nanking, the meetings were held in a tent which accommodated 1,200 people; but the interest was so great that 1,400 and even 1,500 people were crowded into it. The usually impassive Chinese broke down completely before the marked presence of the Holy Spirit, and scenes were witnessed which missionaries of a generation ago would have deemed almost incredible. Conversion was invariably accompanied by confession of sin, and many instances of restitution proved the sincerity of repentance. At Kai-ting, in the far west of China, the meetings were characterized by such spiritual power, and by such changes in the lives of converts, that non-Christian Chinese on the streets said to one another: "The Christian's God has come down." In the Province of Shan-si, waves of confession and prayer passed over the congregations, and the very atmosphere seemed charged with Pentecostal influence. One man confessed that during the Boxer Uprising a large sum of money was sent by the foreigners in Ping Yang-fu to a missionary who afterwards

died. The money was hidden for safety in the court-yard of a native Christian. He dug it up and used it; and now after the lapse of years he made full confession. As one of the humble hearers said, " The Holy Spirit surely has come."

The Chinese Recorder describes a revival in Hing-hwa in the Province of Fo-kien, which was signalized by like power. Among the converts were members of a firm of importers of morphine, who brought their entire stock to the church and turned it over to the pastor to be destroyed. The church, which seats a thousand people, could not accommodate the throngs that attended. The first triennial meeting of the Evangelistic Association of China, at Hankow, December 7–12, 1910, was attended by 77 foreign and 158 Chinese delegates representing eleven Provinces, besides Manchuria and Formosa, 26 Boards and 5 different nationalities. Nightly evangelistic meetings in the city and in Wu-chang across the river were attended by an average of 10,000 people, about 2,000 of whom were students.

The Rev. Dr. Hunter Corbett writes of another revival: " The members, wishing to have the blessing extended to other centres, invited pastors and leading members of churches in all the surrounding country to come and receive a spiritual uplift that they might return to their homes and help others. The Church sending the invitations sub-

scribed liberally to pay for the entertainment of the guests. The members of a Training School for Bible Women requested that each might be permitted to fast three times a week for a month, and that the money saved be paid into the entertainment fund. Later, in scores of places, pastors began to pray, first for a revival in their own hearts and then in the Church and community; and the prayers were answered. One pastor wrote of the revival in his Church that the voice of praise and the cry of confession mingled together. Daily meetings, twice a day for fifty days, had prepared the large company to expect great things from God. Thousands instead of hundreds, as had been expected, were present. Saturday night a count was made and 4,800 were found. Sunday night there were four simultaneous meetings, aggregating between 6,000 and 7,000. At another centre, the revival was preceded by more than a hundred assembling for four days waiting upon the Lord."

The Rev. Charles E. Scott, of Tsing-tau, writes as follows of a tour which he made in company with three Chinese, a minister, a teacher and an elder:

Three thousand people in the groups heard the Gospel among the villages, and twice that number in the tent. It mattered not that often the air was choking with dust; the people listened. One afternoon when a Christian and I were out in a village, a wind blew up fierce and hot;

but all the afternoon men crowded into that dirty, ill-smelling room to hear the Gospel. When the wind slackened, the entire village as it seemed—patriarchs, middle-aged and youth—sat or stood around us in the dusty main street to hear the Word. Each group of workers reported the same experience of eager, willing listeners.

And still the work goes on. Letters from Ichoufu, Shantung, include the following:

It was almost with fear and trembling that we looked forward to the coming of the Chinese evangelist, Pastor Ding, in January. There seemed so many difficulties in the way. The time was unseasonable, being the last month of the Chinese calendar when the people are busiest. The weather was very cold and the roads unusually bad owing to deep snow, and we feared that but few of the country Christians whom we had invited would be able to come.

However, on the very day of Pastor Ding's arrival, surprises began. Day after day the number grew, until they taxed the utmost capacity of our new church. On the third day, opportunities were given to those who wished to study the Gospel to come forward while their names were recorded. Eighty-two responded . . . the number reached 865. After a few more days, the enrolment reached 1,000; and still the number grew until it stood at over 1,400.

It would be easy to mention other revivals in various parts of China. But surely enough has been said to evoke profound thanksgiving and gratitude to God and to make us feel that a new

day is dawning in China. A spiritual movement which has manifested itself in such different parts of the Empire as Fo-kien, Kiang-si, Shan-si, Shen-si, Honan, Shantung and Che-kiang, which has been characterized by the preaching of Chinese ministers more than by that of missionaries, and has been attended by large accessions and by the enriched spiritual life of the Church, unmistakably indicates a mighty trend toward the goals of God.

I would not give the impression that all China is about to become Christian and that there is no reason for anxiety. Side by side with these remarkable manifestations of spiritual power, there are evidences of growing suspicion and even of hostility. This might normally be expected. As long as the work was small and obscure, there was no special reason why the Chinese as a whole should assume any particular attitude toward it. Multitudes indeed knew nothing about it, and many who did know regarded it with contemptuous indifference. As numbers grow and as congregations become more influential, the Chinese people begin to consider this new movement. Indifference changes to curiosity, and this in turn develops into either open sympathy or open opposition. This is indicative not of failure, but of success. Brighter lights always mean darker shadows. Christianity in China has reached the point where men are taking sides for or against it.

Much has been said about the character of the Chinese Christians and doubts have been ignorantly cast on the genuineness of their faith. They do sometimes try the patience of the missionary; but is the home pastor never distressed by the conduct of his people? The real question is this: Is the Christian Chinese a better man than the non-Christian Chinese, more moral, more truthful, more just, more reliable? The answer is so patent that no one who knows the facts can doubt it for a moment. The best men and women in China to-day are Christians. This is not saying that all church members are good or that all non-Christian Chinese are bad; but it is saying that comparing the average Christian with the average non-Christian, the superiority of the former in those things which make for character and conduct is immeasurable.

Is it said that the Chinese have become Christians for gain? Then how shall we account for the fact that out of their deep poverty they give more for church work in proportion to their ability than Christians at home? Some Americans join American Churches for business or social ends and probably some Chinese have professed conversion in the hope of securing employment; but the average Chinese incurs financial loss rather than gain if he becomes a Christian. Self-support of the Church has been so vigorously pushed that Chinese

Christians know that they will probably receive less and less from abroad. But the number grows with remarkable rapidity. Missionary correspondence indicates evidences of fidelity in service, of tribulation joyfully borne, of systematic giving out of scanty resources. While sapient critics are telling us that the Chinese cannot be converted, they are not only being converted but are manifesting a consecration and self-denial which should shame many in Christian lands.

The history of missions in China has shown that it requires more time to convert a Chinese to Christianity than some other Asiatics, but that when he is converted, he holds to his new faith with a tenacity and fortitude which the most awful persecution seldom shakes. The behavior of the Chinese Christians under the baptism of blood and fire to which they were subjected in the Boxer Uprising eloquently testified to the genuineness of their faith. That some should have fallen away was to be expected. Not every Christian, even in the United States, can "endure hardness." Let a hundred men anywhere be told that if they do not abandon their faith, their homes will be burned, their business ruined, their wives ravished, their children brained, and they themselves scourged and beheaded, and a proportion of them will flinch.

But as I visited the scenes of disaster in 1901, saw the frightful ruin, heard the stories of Chris-

tians and missionaries, faced the little companies of survivors and learned more of the awful ordeal through which they had passed, I marveled, not that some had yielded, but that so many stood steadfast. The uneducated peasant was no whit behind his cultivated countrymen in devotion to duty. A poor cook was seized and beaten, his ears were cut off, his mouth and cheeks gashed with a sword and other unspeakable mutilations inflicted. Yet he stood as firmly as any martyr of the early Church.

One of the Chinese preachers, on refusing to apostatize, received a hundred blows upon his bare back, and then the bleeding sufferer was told to choose between obedience and another hundred blows. What would we have answered? Let us, who have never been called on to suffer for Christ, be modest in saying what we would have done. But that mangled, half-dead Chinese gasped: "I value Jesus Christ more than life and I will never deny Him!" Before all of the second hundred blows could be inflicted, unconsciousness came and he was left for dead. A friend took him away by night, bathed his wounds, and secretly nursed him to recovery. I saw him and looked reverently upon the flesh that was seamed and scarred with "the marks of the Lord Jesus." Of the hundreds of Christians who were taken inside the British legation camps in Peking, not one proved false

to their benefactors. Even the children were faithful. During the tumult of bursting shells and the roar of burning buildings, the voices of the Junior Christian Endeavor Society were heard singing:

There'll be no dark valley when Jesus comes.

Such instances could be multiplied almost indefinitely from the experiences of Chinese Christians during the Boxer Uprising. Indeed the fortitude of the persecuted Christians was so remarkable that in many cases the Boxers cut out the hearts of their victims to find the secret of such sublime faith, declaring, "They have eaten the foreigner's medicine." In those humble Chinese the world has again seen a vital faith, again seen that the age of heroism has not passed, again seen that men and women are willing to die for Christ. Multitudes withstood a persecution as frightful as that of the early disciples in the arenas of Nero. If they were hypocrites, why did they not recant? "One-tenth of the hypocrisy with which they were charged would have saved them from martyrdom." But thousands died rather than abjure their faith, and thousands more "had trial of mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonment; they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, they were tempted, they were slain with the sword; they went about in sheepskins, in goatskins; being destitute, afflicted, evil entreated; . . . wandering

in deserts and mountains and caves and the holes of the earth." And of them as of the saints of old we may say, "of whom the world was not worthy."

The attitude of the Chinese people as a whole toward missionaries is not so much anti-Christian as anti-foreign. As missionaries become better known, they are, as a rule, more popular with the Chinese than other foreigners, or at any rate less disliked; for they get into closer touch with the people, speak their language, are more careful to respect native customs, and show lives of unselfish devotion. At first, indeed, officials in particular regarded missionaries with a suspicion which included an element of contempt. They did not understand why missionaries came. The idea that white men would incur so much trouble and expense from disinterested motives seemed preposterous. Ulterior designs were invariably suspected, and these designs were ordinarily believed to be of a political character. This belief was strengthened by the close relations of Roman Catholic missionaries with the political ambitions of France; while the number of times that British, German and American diplomatic and consular officials pressed questions affecting Protestant missionaries and their property sometimes brought the latter under the same suspicion. Native officials seldom understood the difference between Roman Catholic

Union Medical College, Peking

and Protestant missionaries. They simply knew that missionaries were at work; and when complaints were sent in, the reports usually failed to specify the affiliations of the alleged offenders. The consequence was that Protestant missionaries generally shared in the odium which the policy of the Roman Catholic missionaries developed.

I am not criticizing the Roman Catholic Church; I am simply referring to the well-known historical fact that the policy of that Church in Asia is more aggressive in property matters and in support of converts who are involved in law-suits than the policy of Protestant Societies. The result is that Roman Catholics have stirred up antagonisms which Protestant missionaries usually avoid. The Imperial Edict of March 15, 1899, which gave official rank to Roman Catholic priests and bishops and which was a source of great irritation to the Chinese, was rescinded in 1908. The forty bishops and 1,201 priests in China now have the same relation to the Government as Protestant missionaries; or rather, Roman Catholics, like Protestants, have no official relation to the Government at all. Time has thus vindicated the wisdom of Protestant missionaries in declining the official status which was offered to them as well as to Roman Catholics when the French Minister at Peking extorted the privilege from the Government in 1899.

The position of Protestant missionaries is now

beginning to be better understood. Instances of personal friendship are more numerous. Prefects, tao-tais, governors and viceroys have visited mission schools and hospitals and manifested keen interest. In the fall of 1907, twenty-five missionaries representing various Boards were in conference at Tsinan-fu, the capital of Shantung, and inquired whether the Governor would receive a committee to pay respects in behalf of the conference. He replied that he would be glad to have the missionaries call in a body. When they did so, they were received with every mark of cordiality. The Governor returned the call the following day, accompanied by a number of high officials and a military escort, and invited all the missionaries to a feast at his yamen the same evening. There he again received the missionaries with every honor. The feast was served in foreign style and would have done credit to any hotel in the home land. The Governor made an address, in which he spoke in high terms of the work of the missionaries and the help which they were giving in many ways to his people. This was the official who, while holding a high position in the Province of Shan-si during the Boxer Uprising, was commanded by his Governor, Yu Hsien, notorious for the murder of seventy missionaries, to kill all the missionaries residing in his district. He promptly assembled forty missionaries, but sent them under military escort

to a place of safety, saying that he could not kill good and law-abiding men and women.

On a steamer off the cost of China, I noticed that a fellow passenger was a Chinese official whose dress and retinue indicated rank. As soon as he learned that I was from New York and connected with Presbyterian mission work, he eagerly inquired whether I knew a Miss Rogers. When I replied that I did, he expressed gratification, explaining that many years ago, when he was connected with the consular service, he had studied English in New York under Miss Rogers. He spoke of her with marked respect and gratitude, and asked me to take her his card and a message of remembrance. He was not a Christian, but his conversation indicated that he had received from Miss Rogers an impression of missionary character and purpose which made him sympathetic, and he freely admitted the resultant influence upon his own life.

It was arranged that I should meet the Vice-President of the Imperial Board of Education in Peking. At the appointed time, I drove to his official residence, in company with the Rev. J. Walter Lowrie, D.D., and the Rev. William Gleysteen. No sooner had we entered, than the Vice-President recognized Dr. Lowrie with evident pleasure, inquired about the health of his mother, expressed deep sympathy when he learned that she was dead,

and asked many questions regarding Dr. Lowrie and his friends in Paoting-fu. It appeared that many years ago, when this Chinese gentleman, who is a Hanlin scholar of the highest rank, visited a friend in Paoting-fu, he was suddenly taken ill, and that he was treated for several months by the missionary physician at that time, Dr. George Yardley Taylor. It would be unfair to represent the Vice-President as a Christian or as expressing any interest in Christianity; but I was impressed by the fact that he had come into such personal contact with the missionaries at Paoting-fu that he had formed a favorable opinion of their character and worth.

It would be easy to cite instances of sympathetic comprehension of Christian missionaries and their work. But there are two sides to almost every question in China. Taking the official class throughout the Empire, it must be admitted that, prior to the Revolution, it was suspicious and resentful. The suspicion was not so often mingled with contempt as it was formerly; it was more often mingled with fear. Official China believed that the success of the missionary enterprise would be subversive of some of the most sacred and time-honored customs of the Empire, particularly of ancestral worship and that reverence for Confucius and his teachings to which China clings as tenaciously as ever. These officials were not blind

to the growing numbers and power of the Missions and the Chinese Churches, and they were beginning to be apprehensive lest the Christian movement might attain larger proportions than they had at first deemed possible.

The exclusion of Chinese graduates of mission schools from the new Provincial Assemblies was a disquieting sign of this. There has been much speculation as to the cause of this action; but some reasons are apparent. To the average Chinese official, Christianity was still the foreigner's religion. He saw that the mission schools were controlled by foreigners, and he suspected that Chinese who had been trained in them had been educated away from things Chinese and had allied themselves with aliens who were trying to overthrow the worship of Confucius and to subvert national customs. He therefore naturally hesitated to permit Chinese of this alleged type to make laws for China and to advise the Government in political matters. This consideration was intensified, in some places at least, by the fact that some graduates of mission schools were men of such superior capacity that they would probably exert disproportionate influence in the Provincial Assemblies.

The Revolution has done much to change this attitude. This was partly because the position and course of the missionaries during the Revolution exerted a most mollifying influence on many who

had formerly opposed or ignored them. When the strife divided communities into rival parties and men on each side feared ruin and death from men on the other side, the mission compounds were, as a rule, the only neutral places. In these circumstances, not only merchants, but magistrates, and even army officers besought the missionaries to shelter their families. At Yeung-kong, the commanding General sent his wife and children for protection to the mission compound, and the next morning the Chief of Police asked the missionaries to receive the Chief Magistrate of the county and his family. This experience of the missionaries was repeated at scores of stations. Proud Manchus in Peking, who a few months before would have contemptuously repelled any advance from missionaries, now implored them to open their homes to them and their families. In many stations, the throng of women and children, sometimes of Imperialists, sometimes of Revolutionists, was so great as to crowd the Station enclosure. Where there was fighting, as at Hankow and Nanking, nearly all the Red Cross work of caring for the wounded of both armies was done by missionaries. Mission surgeons and nurses worked night and day; while in the final struggle in Nanking, missionaries brought the Generals of the contending forces together and arranged the terms of capitulation.

The leaders of the revolutionary party are dis-

Types of Educated Christian Women

tinctly more favorable to Christianity than the reactionary Manchus and their Chinese sympathizers of the old régime. Indeed some of the new leaders are themselves Christians. Dr. Sun Yat Sen, Provisional President of the Republic, General Li Yuan Heng, Commander-in-Chief of the revolutionary army and later Provisional Vice-President of the Republic, Wang Chong Wei, Minister of Foreign Affairs, C. T. Wang, who was named by the Provisional Republic as Minister to the United States, and Fay Chi Ho, Sun Yat Sen's private secretary and a graduate of Oberlin College, are all Christian men. Wang Chong Wei is the son of a Congregational Chinese clergyman in Canton and one of his two brothers is the President of the China Merchants' Steamship Company and the other is President of the Han-yang Iron Works; all three being earnest Christians. Seven of the members of the Cabinet of the Provisional Republic are graduates of American colleges. When Fo-kien Province went over to the Revolutionists, November 9, 1911, it vested the government in eight Commissions. The Presidents of four were Christians. One of them, Nong Nai Siong, President of Posts and Communications, has been an active Christian for thirty years and a frequent preacher in the churches. Another, Ding Neng Guong, President of Foreign Affairs, is also an active Christian worker and a graduate of a mission

college. The Vice-President of this Board, Ling Ding Ming, who was one of the two representatives of the Province in the constitutional convention in Shanghai, is also a Christian. Miss Harriet Noyes, of Canton, says that the report is current there that seventy-five per cent of the leaders of the Revolution are either Christians or are favorably disposed toward Christianity. Men who have had a modern education either in mission schools or in foreign lands are not likely to become persecutors of Christianity, although they may not become Christians themselves.

One of the first fruits of the Revolution was the development of a movement among Chinese Christians to have an article guaranteeing religious liberty incorporated in the new constitution which, it was assumed, the Republic would adopt. Sun Yat Sen openly declared that the Republic would give such liberty, and one of the early pronouncements of Yuan Shih Kai, after his election to the Presidency, was a declaration favorable to religious freedom. Heretofore the measure of freedom which Christianity had was that of more or less reluctant toleration covered by treaties with western nations. If, as now appears probable, Christianity is given positive instead of negative rights, if its status is not a concession to a foreigner's request but that of a religion which the Chinese themselves voluntarily recognize, the gain will be

great and far-reaching. In any event, it appears certain that the prestige of the missionary and of his work in China have been enormously increased, and that whether religious liberty is written into the letter of the Constitution or not, the new era will be more free for Christian work than was the old.

Emphasis should be given to the fact that the missionary enterprise is absolutely neutral on questions that are purely political. Missionaries and Chinese Christians were against the Manchu Dynasty, not because it was a monarchy, but because it was corrupt and was the enemy of liberty and progress. When the Dynasty was overturned, missionaries and Chinese Christians were divided in opinion, like other men in and out of China, as to whether a republic or a constitutional monarchy was better for China, and they would have been faithful citizens under either one. Christians in other lands show the same differences in political matters. They are republicans in France and America, and loyal monarchists in England, Germany, Japan and Siam. Any form of government that is administered in the spirit of justice, humanity and enlightenment has nothing to fear from Christianity; but a government that is characterized by fraud and greed and oppression has everything to fear from it, whether it be that of a Manchu Emperor in China or of a republican political "boss" in the United States.

CHAPTER VI

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL REFORM

Some of the Chinese began to realize that changes were inevitable, and a Reform Party developed. It was not large, but it included some influential men, though their zeal was not always tempered by discretion. The war with Japan in 1894 powerfully aided them. True, many of the Chinese did not know that there was such a war, for news traveled slowly in a land which then had few railways, telegraphs and newspapers, and whose average inhabitant had never been twenty miles from the village in which he was born. But those who did know realized that Japan had won by western methods. An eagerness to acquire these methods resulted. Missionaries were besieged by Chinese who wished to learn English. Modern books were given a wide circulation. Several of the influential advisers of the Emperor became students of Occidental science and political economy. In five years, 1893–1898, the book sales of The Christian Literature Society rose from

$817 to $18,457, and every mission press in the country was run to its utmost capacity to supply the new demands.

A powerful exponent of the new ideas appeared in the great Viceroy, Chang Chih-tung. He wrote a book, entitled "China's Only Hope," exposing the causes of China's weakness and advocating radical reforms. The book was printed by the Tsung-li Yamen and copies were sent by royal command to the high officials of the Empire. Big yellow posters advertised it from the walls of leading cities, and in a short time a million copies were sold. It has been said, and without exaggeration, that "this book made more history in a shorter time than any other modern piece of literature, that it astonished a kingdom, convulsed an empire, and brought on a war."

The Reform Party urged the young Emperor to use the Imperial power for the advancement of his people. He yielded to the pressure and became an eager student of western learning. In the opening months of 1898, he bought no less than 129 foreign books, including a Bible and several scientific works, besides maps, globes, and wind and current charts. With the ardor of a new convert he issued reform edicts, which, if they could have been carried into effect, would have uprooted many abuses and opened all China to the modern world.

But it is disastrous to try to "hustle the East."

The nation was not then ready for such a program, and it had no confidence in a Manchu leader. A host of scholars and officials, who saw their hopes and position jeopardized by the new tests, protested with the virulence of the silversmiths of Ephesus, and all the conservatism of China rallied to their support. On September 22nd, 1898, the Emperor was made a prisoner in one of his own palaces and the reactionary Empress Dowager took full control of the Government and proceeded to make waste paper of the reform edicts.

Meantime, the Yellow River, aptly named "China's Sorrow," again overflowed its banks, devastating a region a hundred miles long and from twenty-five to fifty miles wide. Three hundred villages were swept away and a million people made homeless. Famine and pestilence speedily followed, so that the whole catastrophe assumed appalling proportions. Even American communities are apt to become reckless and riotous in time of calamity, and in China this tendency of human nature was intensified by a superstition which led the people to believe that the gods were angry because the traditions of the fathers were being disregarded.

The popular excitement and alarm found expression in the sudden uprising of two of the revolutionary societies which had long flourished among the people, the members of which now be-

E. A. K. Hackett Medical College for Women, Canton

Students playing basket-ball

came popularly known as "The Boxers." The astute Empress Dowager, who headed the protest against the headlong progressiveness of the young Emperor, encouraged them and thus turned one of the most troublesome foes of the Manchu throne against the common enemy, the foreigner. Under her influence, the depredations of the Boxers spread with the swiftness of a prairie fire, until in the spring of 1900 the most important Provinces of the Empire were ablaze and the Legations in Peking were closely besieged.

And so the irrepressible conflict broke out. It had to come, a conflict between conservatism and progress, between race prejudice and brotherhood, between superstition and Christianity, the tremendous conflict of ages which every nation has had to fight, and which in China was not different in kind but only on a more colossal scale, because there it involved such a vast population at a crisis of new world relationships.

Though missionaries were not the real cause of the Boxer Uprising, its calamities fell heavily upon them. This was partly because many of them were living at exposed points in the interior, while most other foreigners were assembled in the treaty ports where they were better protected; partly because the movement developed such hysterical frenzy that it attacked with blind fury every accessible foreigner; and partly because in most

places the actual killing and pillaging were not done by the people who best knew the missionaries but by mobs from the slums, ruffians from other villages, or, as in Paoting-fu and Shan-si, in obedience to the direct orders of bigoted officials.

The allied armies of Europe and America finally crushed the uprising. Bitter was the humiliation of the Government and people. The proud Empress Dowager became a fugitive. The Imperial city was captured and alien soldiers camped in the sacred enclosure of the Temple of Heaven and looted the royal palaces. The Governments of the West, too, imposed terms of peace which were grievous to the Chinese: an extortionate indemnity of 450,000,000 taels, apologies to Germany for the murder of its Minister and to Japan for the assassination of the Chancellor of its Legation, the erection of monuments in cemeteries, and the making of new commercial treaties. The Chinese were cut to the quick by being told, among other things, that they must not import firearms for two years; that no official examinations could be held for five years in the cities where foreigners had been attacked; that an important part of the Imperial capital would be added to the already spacious grounds of the foreign Legations and that they would be fortified and garrisoned by foreign guards; that the Taku forts, which defended the sea entrance to Peking, would be razed,

and the railway to the capital occupied by foreign troops; that members of anti-foreign societies were to be executed; that officials, even though they were Viceroys, were to be summarily dismissed and disgraced if they did not prevent further anti-foreign outbreaks; that court ceremonies in relation to foreign ministers must conform to western ideas; and that the Tsung-li Yamen (Foreign Office) must be abolished and a new ministry of foreign affairs erected, the Wai-wu Pu, which must be regarded as the highest of the departments instead of the lowest. China's cup of humiliation was indeed full.

The failure of the Boxer Uprising taught the Chinese the futility of the attempt to maintain the isolation of former ages. The new ideas surged into the country in increasing volume and the more intelligent of the people began to accept the inevitable and to adapt themselves to the conditions of the new era. Even the Manchu Government found itself obliged to recognize the rising popular demand. In 1906, Imperial High Commissions were sent to Europe and America to study western institutions and report what there was in them that China might wisely imitate. These Commissions did their work as well as could have been expected under the circumstances. Viceroy Tuan Fang, who headed the Commission to the United States, was undoubtedly the most progres-

sive of the Manchus and he made an excellent impression in America. Both Commissions presented many far-reaching recommendations on their return to Peking, and reform edicts of a remarkable character soon followed.

How much real earnestness these edicts represented it would be difficult to tell. The graciously worded edict was a favorite expedient of the Imperial Government in China. It so freely praised everything that reformers were conciliated and opposition was disarmed; but most of the edicts were never carried out and were never intended to be carried out. Still, it was not wholly without significance that in 1907 an Imperial Edict announced a nine years' program for the development of constitutional government. On September 20th an Imperial Edict provided for the establishment of a National Assembly at Peking to consider questions affecting the interests of the State. Ten days later, another Edict ordered the appointment of town councils and local representatives; and on October 18th, a third Edict directed the establishment of Provincial Assemblies. China thus provided for a graded system of representative bodies from town councils to Provincial and National Assemblies. The qualifications for membership were partly property and partly educational. Any male who had property amounting to 5,000 taels, or who held a degree under the old examination sys-

tem, or who had been graduated from a Government middle or high school, might be chosen.

The nine years' program referred to included the following:

First Year: opening of local self-government councils, enactment of self-government regulations, adjustment of finances, and taking of a census;

Second Year: putting in force of local self-government electoral law, announcement of regulations for parliamentary representation, investigation of provincial revenues, organization of courts of justice;

Third Year: convocation of parliamentary representation councils, promulgation of new criminal law, experimental government budget, regulations for official recommendations and fees;

Fourth Year: promulgation of local court laws;

Fifth Year: issue of new regulations for taxation and announcement of new government organizations;

Sixth Year: commencement of administrative justice, adoption of budget;

Seventh Year: preparation of accounts of government revenues and expenditure;

Eighth Year: fixing of Imperial Household expenditure, establishment of judicial bureau, and issue of statistics;

Ninth Year: announcement of the Imperial Constitution and the Imperial Household law, promulgation of election law.

As signs of the coming storm became more ominous, the Manchu rulers began to make fur-

ther concessions. In 1907, the members of the Grand Council and the Presidents of the Ministries of State submitted memorials to the Throne advising the abolition of useless Manchu garrisons; appointment of both Manchus and Chinese to all posts throughout the Empire without favor; alteration of dress by Manchu women and girls as far as possible; allowing Manchus to become merchants and do business in the same way as Chinese so that they might support their families without depending upon their military pay which should be gradually abolished during the next ten years; encouragement of intermarriage between Manchu and Chinese officials; enlistment of both Manchus and Chinese for military service without distinction; and infliction of severe penalties upon Manchu or Chinese authorities who attempted to create barriers between the two races. Most of these recommendations were later promulgated in Imperial decrees; but the Chinese were now becoming conscious of their power and refused to be placated by half-way measures.

The deaths of the Emperor and the Empress Dowager, on November 14th and 15th, 1908, hastened the inevitable Revolution. The former had long ceased to be an important factor in the nation's life, but the Empress Dowager was a ruler of iron will and extraordinary ability. The capture of her capital by the allied armies in 1900 had con-

vinced her that China's age-long policy of isolation and resistance to outside influences could no longer be maintained, and she had amazed her subjects by commanding some of the very reforms which she had punished the progressive young Emperor for encouraging in 1898. How much she really desired the new era is a disputed question; but at any rate she was shrewd enough to direct what she could not quell. Her death therefore caused considerable uncertainty as to the future. Would the progressives or the reactionaries dominate the new Government?

Many people questioned whether the passing of the Emperor was due to natural causes. The Empress Dowager had surrounded herself with high officials who were loyal to her and whom the helpless Emperor did not love. It was plain that the atmosphere of Peking would not be conducive to the longevity of these officials if the Empress Dowager's death were to leave the Emperor in a position to wreak his vengeance on those who had deeply humiliated him. His health had long been frail and his death at the age of thirty-seven, the day before the Empress Dowager became "A Guest on High," may have been a normal one. No one can prove that it was not, for palace secrets are closely guarded in China; but few believe that so opportune a demise was a mere coincidence.

The successor to the throne, by the ante-mortem

decree of the Empress Dowager, was Pu Yi, the baby son of Prince Chun, a brother of the Emperor; the Prince himself becoming Prince Regent. The latter was a young man who was credited with good intentions. He had enjoyed a better opportunity than his predecessors to see the rest of the world; for he had been sent to Germany in 1901 as Imperial Commissioner to apologize for the murder of the German Minister in Peking in June, 1900. Many stories became current about the energy and democratic tendencies of the Prince Regent. He showed little evidence, however, of the masterful leadership which China needed at a transition period. The widow of the late Emperor, and therefore the new Empress Dowager, was a baleful influence in his councils as she was a woman of narrow partisanship and intense hatred of the enemies of her clan. Instead, therefore, of conciliating the rapidly growing feeling of the Chinese that they ought to have a larger voice in the management of their national affairs, the Prince Regent more openly concentrated power in the hands of the Manchus, bestowing the highest positions in the army, navy and civil service upon his relatives and friends, some of whom were weak and dissolute.

One of the Regent's first acts was the summary dismissal of Yuan Shih Kai, then a Grand Councillor of the Empire. This was not unexpected,

for reasons which I shall explain in a later chapter. But it deprived China of the statesman who was best fitted to counsel the new Government at this critical period. Some relief was felt when it was learned that his successor was the broad-minded head of the Imperial Chinese Commission which visited America in 1906, Viceroy Tuan Fang. As he was a Manchu, it was supposed that his official life would be more secure, and much was hoped from his progressive leadership. His removal in October, 1909, deepened the anxiety of all true friends of China as to the future course of the Empire. The ostensible reason for his dismissal was that he permitted subordinates to take photographs of the Empress Dowager's funeral procession and to fasten telegraph wires upon a few trees near her tomb; but enemies in the Palace were the real reason. What could be expected of a Government which disgraced its best and strongest guides at the behest of intriguing women and eunuchs?

Another serious loss was the death of the veteran Chang Chih-tung, on October 4th, 1909. He also was a Grand Councillor of the Empire, and had long shared with Yuan Shih Kai the reputation of being the wisest and ablest of China's progressive statesmen. It was an evil day for China when it was deprived of such leadership, and there was faint reason for believing that men of equal grade were likely to be found.

The consequence was that, politically, China fell into confusion. No one was in control. The local Governors and Viceroys became less amenable than ever to the central authority at Peking. The younger men who had gained a smattering of western learning were voluble and headstrong. The common people grew more restless. With all the changes that were taking place in the thought and life of the nation as the result of the inrush of new ideas, it was a serious thing to have the central Government weakened. Not for a long time had the opportunity for successful revolt been so good.

Meantime, the constitutional movement was sweeping on. October 14, 1909, was a memorable day in the history of China, for it signalized the opening of the first of the Provincial Assemblies, twenty-one in number. All of the vernacular papers gave the event large space, and two appeared with their first pages printed in vermillion to commemorate the auspicious occasion. Handsome modern buildings for these Assemblies were erected in a number of the provincial capitals, some of them on the ruins of the old examination halls.

The Assemblies were of varying qualities. It would not have been reasonable to expect that the first popular bodies in an ancient monarchy would be characterized by eminent wisdom or unity. Some did little that was of value. Others addressed

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themselves seriously to the task before them, and in many there were individual members who showed ability and courage. Bold words were spoken about national affairs and the central Government was rather freely told what it ought to do. It professed to welcome the advice, but it paid little attention to it. The provincial leaders resented the neglect of their recommendations, and the strain between the Provinces and the Imperial Government was increased.

The National Assembly had less freedom than the Provincial Assemblies. It was not satisfactorily representative. One hundred of its 200 members were indeed to be nominated by the Provincial Assemblies, but the ruling class was quite as able to see that "safe" men were chosen as the "bosses" in the United States are to control the election of Senators. The other 100, however, were chosen by the Imperial Government and were made up of Manchu princes, nobles and clansmen and such Chinese officials as the Court considered "trustworthy." Such a body could hardly be expected to disturb "the established order." To make assurance doubly sure, its powers were carefully limited. It was announced as "An Assembly for the assistance of the Government," but the Government could dissolve it at pleasure. Predictions were freely made that the Assembly could do nothing of value. Even such a student of far

eastern affairs as Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu declared that "the Chinese Parliament is in all likelihood going the way of the Turkish Assembly."

But the new spirit of the nation found unexpected expression when the Assembly convened on October 3d, 1910. Enough of the members broke through the restraints of the situation to make the session a surprising manifestation of independence and energy. Some foolish things were said and done, as they are in an American Congress; but considering the circumstances, the Assembly, for a beginning in constitutional government, was far from a failure. It manifested an intelligence and independence which could hardly have been expected of officials meeting under the very shadow of the Imperial Palace. The original program of the Government had fixed the year 1915 as the time for the assembling of an Imperial Parliament. The progressive party wished to have an earlier date set. The reactionary party, which had vainly opposed the issuing of the reform decrees, vehemently pressed for a postponement of "several years," which in China means indefinitely. But the demands of the National and Provincial Assemblies became so resolute that the Government was forced to yield and an Edict was issued advancing the time to 1913.

But whatever the defects of the new Assemblies, their moral influence was great. The principle of

representative government was recognized in a sphere where formerly Governors, Viceroys and the Emperor had been autocratic. The right of the people to have a voice in making laws and regulating government, heretofore limited to local communities, was now to be openly exercised in provincial and national affairs. That principle, once established, could never be abrogated, no matter how much its operation might be restricted for a time.

The portents of trouble now multiplied and the alarm of the Government became more manifest. On May 8th, 1911, an Imperial Edict abolished the Grand Council of five members and substituted a constitutional Cabinet composed of the Prime Minister, Prince Ching, and the heads of the ten executive departments. Prince Ching issued during the summer what became known as the "Too Late" statement of his policy. This rather remarkable state paper included the following:

> With the revision of the official system comes the organization of the Cabinet which is intended as the foundation of a responsible government and the guide to the constitutional preparations. . . . It is gratifying to note that the late Empress Dowager and Emperor were aware of the critical period the country was passing through and ordered the introduction of a Constitution as the only means to make the country strong. Their wishes are closely observed by Emperor Hsuan Tung. Heeding the demand of his people, he has also shortened

the period for the adoption of a constitutional government. This change calls for hastening efforts.

As the time of isolation is substituted by that of world wide intercourse, our conservative policy should be substituted by a progressive one. Our country's finance, interior affairs, education, industry, communication, judicature, military defence, dependency affairs, international affairs and other matters all demand reform, and none can be neglected.

This was indeed "too late," even if the decadent Manchu clique could have carried out such a policy, which no one believes. The demands of the new spirit in China could not be met by a corrupt, reactionary and inefficient ruling class, which, save for an occasional individual exception, conceded only what it was forced to concede and could not be depended upon to go a step further than fear drove it. The time was ripe for the long expected Revolution, and the events which have already been described precipitated the inevitable conflict. As its formidable character became apparent, the panic-stricken Prince Regent issued edict after edict abjectly promising anything and everything he could think of that might placate the wrath of an outraged people. Late in October, he published a pitiful Edict in which, true to the traditions of Chinese "face," the five-year-old Emperor was represented as saying that the troubles of the Empire were "all my fault." This was an instance

of "face" in which pathos and grotesqueness were curiously mingled.

The National Assembly again convened in Peking and at once took an aggressive attitude. The one hundred princes, nobles and other Manchu appointees of the Imperial Government, were so intimidated by half a hundred Radicals that they hardly dared to open their mouths and even the Moderates were often jeered into silence when they attempted to speak. Nineteen bases of a new Constitution were drafted in a single sitting. They were considerably more advanced than the constitutional program which had been promulgated in 1907, as they left the Throne only the semblance of power and made the people the real rulers under a strictly limited constitutional government. On November 3d, the Prince Regent issued an Edict accepting these nineteen bases and pledging himself to "arrange a day to swear before our ancestors in the temple and to issue the Constitution to the whole Empire on yellow papers."

Meantime, the tide of war was sweeping on. Shanghai was taken without bloodshed on November 3d, thus giving the Revolutionists the enormous strategic advantage of access to the sea and the control of customs' receipts which assured large financial support. Nanking, the ancient Chinese capital, had to be fought for, as it was held by a stubborn Imperialist General; but when it fell on

December 3d, nothing remained but a few sporadic struggles by Imperial Generals who still commanded some troops that had not deserted, and the settlement of terms with the Government.

On December 6th, 1911, the Prince Regent succumbed to the hopelessness of the situation and resigned. His regency of three years began in pomp and glory and ended in humiliation and ruin. The troubles of his reign were not primarily his fault. He simply happened to be in power when the long-gathering storm broke and he was not wise enough or strong enough to breast the tumult successfully.

Two provisional Regents, a Manchu and a Chinese, were designated, but Yuan Shih Kai, who had been summoned back to office, became the real ruler in the north. The Revolutionists in central China set up a Republic in Nanking in December and elected Sun Yat Sen President. On December 29th, he formally entered upon the duties of his high office. On February 3d, 1912, formal proclamation was made that the official name of the nation was hereafter to be " The Great Ching-hwa (Chinese) Republic," the word " Great " implying that the new Government claimed Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet and Chinese Turkestan. On February 12th, three simultaneous proclamations announced the abdication of the Dynasty, the Throne's acquiescence in the Republic, its unconditional acceptance of all the terms imposed by

Yuan Shih Kai, and its desire that the Viceroys and Provincial Governors should loyally conform to the new order.

The end came with such startling swiftness as to show at once the rottenness of the foundations upon which Manchu rule rested and the dignity and orderliness of the Chinese people. Never was so vast a Revolution so quickly and peaceably consummated. There was serious fighting at only a few places, and even that was far less sanguinary than sensational newspaper dispatches led the western world to believe. Comparatively small bodies of troops were engaged. There were not as many men killed and wounded in the entire Revolution as in any one of several battles of the American Civil War or the Russia-Japan War. In most places, the revolutionary sentiment was so overwhelming that the Imperial officials yielded without opposition. Within five months from the outbreak in Sze-chwan and three months from the attack on Hankow, fifteen of the eighteen Provinces had gone over to the Revolutionists, and the tide of victorious revolt had swept down the Yangtze to the sea. To-day, the Ta-ching Manchu Dynasty, whose haughty Emperors had ruled "The Middle Kingdom" as "Sons of Heaven" for nearly three hundred years, has passed off the stage; and a Chinese, whom the Manchus had contemptuously sent into the obscurity of private life,

now wears the robes of power as President of the Great Ching-hwa Republic.

The manifestations of the new forces which are transforming China are varied in character. I have referred to several of those manifestations—political, commercial and intellectual. Let me now add something regarding social reforms, a subject which deserves more space than can here be given to it.

Most notable of these reforms is the anti-opium crusade. The opium habit has long been the curse of China. The part that western nations have had in the development of this evil traffic is one of the most shameful chapters in history. It would be difficult to condemn too strongly the unrighteous greed and cruelty which have characterized the efforts of vicious white men to reap financial profit from the helplessness of the Chinese people, and the story is made more shameful by the acquiescence and, in some instances, the open support of western governments.

One of the most encouraging evidences of the growth of the Christian spirit is the fact that public conscience has now been aroused to the enormity of this evil. There have always been men and women who have protested against the iniquity of the traffic; but for a long time their protests fell on deaf ears. The power of avarice and of corrupt politics was too strong. Now, how-

ever, the power of righteousness has waxed mightier. A spirit is abroad which is not so tolerant of abuses, and that spirit has now become so pervasive and imperious that governments have been forced to heed it.

Missionaries abroad as well as Christians at home have had a large influence in the development of this spirit. As it was the missionary who first stirred the moral indignation of the world over the traffic in intoxicants in the South Sea Islands, the missionary who did more than all others combined to awaken the conscience of the world to the demoralization which was resulting from the liquor traffic in Africa, the missionary who led the movement to abate the opium evil in the Philippine Islands, the missionary who has inaugurated every moral reform in China for a hundred years, so it was the missionary who from the beginning voiced opposition to the export of opium from India to China and who induced the Government of China to inaugurate the opium reform which has now reached such splendid proportions. The memorial of 1,200 Protestant missionaries, presented through a friendly Viceroy to the Throne in 1906, resulted in the now famous Imperial Edicts of September, 1906, May and June, 1907, and March, 1908.

Those who know how often Chinese edicts have been simply high-sounding declarations which were

never carried out naturally were skeptical about the effect of this one; especially as it dealt with the favorite indulgence of many millions of Chinese, as thousands of the officials who would have to enforce it locally were themselves victims of the habit, and as the vice itself, once fairly established in a man's life, creates pathological conditions which make its cure extremely difficult. Great were the surprise and gratification, therefore, when China set itself to the task with a vigor and success which left no doubt as to its sincerity. It is true that some officials are indifferent or hostile to the reform; but when evidence of their failure to enforce the law is presented in high quarters, punishment is swift and drastic. On September 27th, 1910, a sweeping Edict commanded the Censorate to investigate and punish adequately the Viceroys and Governors of Chih-li, Honan, Shen-si, Heilungkiang, Fo-kien, Kuang-si, Yun-nan and Hsin-kiang, "on the ground that, while suppressing the traffic in and cultivation of opium, they were guilty of carelessness about smoking and also its suppression." The suspension from office of two Princes convinced lesser magistrates throughout the Empire that no mercy would be shown to them.

Thousands of acres, which were formerly devoted to the cultivation of the poppy, now grow grain and vegetables. Innumerable opium dens have been closed. Enormous quantities of para-

phernalia have been burned, 5,000 pipes being publicly consumed in Hang-chou at one time. Sir John Jordan, British Minister to China, wrote to his Government some time ago: "China has not hesitated to deal with a question which a European nation, with all the modern machinery of government and the power of enforcing its decision, would probably have been unwilling to face." Forty millions in revenue were lost on account of the reform, "a far more serious question," says Sir John Jordan, "in the present state of the Chinese national exchequer, than the similar problem with which the Indian Government will have to deal in sacrificing the opium revenue."

Our sympathies go out to the people of China who have been making such a determined effort to extirpate an evil which was doing so much to weaken the national fibre and emasculate the national character. Never before in all the history of the world has any non-Christian nation conducted so resolute and successful a warfare against a vicious indulgence. It is impossible to doubt that the Chinese nation has become thoroughly aroused regarding the evils of opium and that it is making a magnificent struggle to abate them, a struggle in which it ought to have all possible support from the Christian nations of the world.

"The general awakening of the country to the seriousness of the opium evil has been fruitful in

other directions also. A general awakening of the moral sense seems to have taken place and so, contemporaneous with the opium campaign, there has been an attack on another of the traditional indulgences of the people, namely, the gambling evil. In some Provinces, notably in Kwang-tung, the authorities have not scrupled to make this national proclivity for games of chance a source of income, and for many years licensed gambling houses have contributed no small sum to the provincial revenues. In other Provinces the same habit has been utilized in other ways, especially as at Hankow, in the shape of lotteries. During the last two years, the people of Canton, led by the younger officials and the advanced section of the educated class, have sought to get rid of the gambling evil and have chosen as their first point of attack the licensed houses. The late Viceroy, unable to find a source of revenue to take the place of the threatened gambling licenses, temporized and learned the truth of the proverb that he who hesitates is lost, for eventually he was removed from office largely because of his attitude on this question."[1]

Anti-foot-binding societies were formed years ago by missionaries and every effort was made to induce Christian women not to bind the feet of their girls and to unbind those that had already been bound. Many mission schools will not re-

[1] *The National Review*, Shanghai, May 6, 1911.

CELEBRATING THE SUPPRESSION OF GAMBLING IN CANTON

ceive pupils with bound feet. It is the aim of missionaries not to interfere with social customs unless they are inherently wrong, but foot-binding so vitally affects the usefulness and position of women that they felt justified in opposing it as far as they could tactfully do so. They succeeded in enlisting the support of women in high position and finally, through sympathetic and influential friends, of the late Empress Dowager. The Manchu women did not bind their feet and the custom never had the approval of the Imperial Court, although the Manchus manifested no interest in the Chinese practice until the missionaries had developed considerable sentiment on the subject. In 1906, an Imperial Edict advised parents not to bind the feet of their daughters. The movement has made rapid headway the last few years. Feminine fashions are not easily changed in any land and especially among a conservative people who have been accustomed for centuries to regard the natural foot as evidence of the lack of social position. But it now appears probable that the women of the new China will ere long stand and walk upon their feet, instead of hobbling painfully on crushed toes and heels.

Another reform of far-reaching significance was the reorganization of judicial procedure and the penal code. The Chinese were impelled toward this reform not only by the new spirit of the coun-

try but by the humiliating fact that other nations regarded their laws and courts as so antiquated and faulty that they insisted on extra-territorial rights for all their nationals. This meant that, although a Chinese who committed a crime in the United States was tried and punished by an American court, an American who committed a crime in China was not amenable to Chinese law and could be tried and punished only by his own Consul. This not only wounded Chinese pride at a sensitive point, but it was a prolific source of irritation and sometimes of positive injustice and wrong. Moreover, the Chinese courts were accustomed to employ torture as a means of extorting confessions from accused persons, and to inflict punishment, in case of guilt, in most barbarous forms. The death sentence was pronounced upon a large number of crimes besides murder. Execution was frequently by dismembering the body, or by tying the criminal to a stake and gradually slicing his body so as to prolong his suffering as much as possible. Other forms of punishment were branding by red-hot irons the face or the body and beating the feet or bare back with bamboo rods until the flesh was pounded to a pulp. Jails were filthy dungeons—dark, cold, unsanitary and vermin-infested. Judges were, as a rule, so mercenary that the litigant who paid the heavier bribe was practically certain to get a verdict in his favor. It is no wonder that western

nations were not willing to subject their nationals to the tender mercies of Chinese courts.

On April 24th, 1905, an Imperial Edict, issued in response to a memorial of a Commission, headed by Wu Ting-fang, decreed a revision of the criminal code, abolishing "the three forms of punishment known as dismemberment, exposure of the head, and beheading the corpse," and providing that capital punishment should be inflicted by "immediate decapitation," or "immediate strangling." The next day another Edict forbade the use of torture to secure evidence, commanded due investigation in the case of persons accused of crime and closed with these interesting words:

> Although the very best laws may be enacted, they cannot execute themselves. What is required is that all the officials, both high and low, shall conscientiously discharge their duties and exert themselves to get rid of evil practices, so that to some extent we may have a just government and the settlement of litigation by clear and well defined principles, and thus get rid of long-standing abuses. WE constantly hear from the various Provinces that the department and district Magistrates either tyrannically and following their own caprice employ torture in examination or get a lot of persons implicated in a case and summon them to court, but do not make prompt investigation, allowing the yamen underlings to confuse the case so that they may illicitly profit by it, implicating innocent persons whom they detain and oppress in a hundred ways, all of which practices are most abominable. Now since WE have approved the Regulations submitted

in the Memorial above-mentioned, let them be published abroad and let all observe them. WE repeat the announcement and warning that OUR desire is to show compassion upon all who are imprisoned, that justice shall be shown and the sentiments of the people satisfied. Let all the Viceroys and Governors concerned issue strict orders to their subordinates conscientiously and with due regard to all the circumstances to exert themselves to carry this Edict into effect and from time to time to make careful investigation. Should any be found who, while outwardly observing, are secretly disobeying the Edict, treading the old path of malpractice, let them be at once impeached. There must be no shielding of them nor any attempt to save their faces. Let each be diligent in seeking the welfare of the people, and give earnest attention to the settlement of litigation, and so fulfil the purpose of the Throne to have compassion upon the lowly and to lighten their punishments. Let this Edict be published for the information of all.

The queue has long been the national badge of the Chinese. It was not the queue but the shaving of the head that was enforced by the Manchu conquerors. The early Chinese wore their hair long and tied it in a top-knot, as the Koreans have done until recently. The queue and the shaven head became universal after the Manchu conquest in 1644, and as late as a half-dozen years ago a Chinese could not have cut off his queue without immediately losing caste. Chinese in other lands frequently cut off their queues, but were careful to grow them when they went back to China. Gradu-

ally many Chinese became sensitive to the ridicule to which the practice exposed them, and gradually also they came to regard the queue as unsanitary and inconvenient. In 1909, some men in high official position ventured to memorialize the Prince Regent on the subject; but he feared that the nation was hardly ready for such a drastic measure and he rejected the proposal.

When the Revolution broke out, the queue was one of the first of the old customs to be discarded. Practically all of the Revolutionists cut off their queues, so that when Imperialist troops captured a city they killed every man they found without a queue. The triumph of the Revolution probably means the end of the custom. Yuan Shih Kai continued to wear his queue, out of respect to the Imperial family, until the abdication, but one of his first acts after that was to have his own queue removed. To-day, thousands of Chinese barbers all over the country are doing a rushing business, and vast quantities of Chinese hair are being exported to be made into rats and switches for European and American ladies.

It would be interesting, if space permitted, to discuss other Edicts, as for example the one of February 27, 1910, against domestic slavery. But perhaps those that have been cited may serve for illustrations of the spirit of reform that is at work. Edicts in China are not always enforced, but

surely there is large significance in the fact that such decrees as these and others that might be cited have been issued within recent years. Some American laws are dead letters, and while a larger proportion of Chinese Edicts have had little effect, some of them, as in the case of the opium Edicts, have been carried out with a zeal and efficiency which Americans might well wish their Government would apply to the liquor traffic. If Edicts of this kind had emanated from a government in whose honesty and efficiency the people had confidence, the Revolution might have assumed a different character.

CHAPTER VII

LEADERS OF THE NEW CHINA—YUAN SHIH KAI —SUN YAT SEN

China's most serious lack for a period of transition and reconstruction was generally believed to be the lack of competent leadership. Numerous magazine articles lamented this as the most hopeless element in the situation. "There are no statesmen capable of guiding the country; good will there is in plenty, but one sees nowhere the necessary combination of insight, ability, experience and influence." These words of an eminent writer on Far Eastern affairs represented the common opinion of the civilized world. But great emergencies have developed great men in China as they have in other countries. Some of the leaders of the new China had already won fame under the old régime, others suddenly rose from obscurity, and they proved that the widely accepted view of China's lack of capable men was unfounded.

I regret that the limits of this little book do not permit adequate sketches of such men as Liang Tun Yen, a graduate of Yale University who has been Vice-President and President of the Wai-wu Pu, Customs Tao-tai at Hankow and Tien-tsin,

Minister to the United States, Mexico, Cuba and Peru, and Director-General of Customs; Pang Shao Yi, who has been President of the Ministry of Posts and Communications, Customs Tao-tai at Tien-tsin, Vice-President of the Wai-wu Pu, Commissioner for the revision of the Tibetan Treaty, Governor of Feng-tien and special Ambassador to the United States; Chentung Liang-cheng, who has been Minister to Germany, the United States, Spain, Peru, Cuba and Mexico; Lew Yuk Lin, who has been Minister to Great Britain, Consul-General at Johannesburg and Singapore, and Deputy Vice-President of the Wai-wu Pu; Wu Ting-fang, educated at Oxford University, who was twice Minister to the United States; General Ts'en, son of the famous general of that name who quelled the Mohammedan Revolution, who was Viceroy of Sze-chwan in 1901–2, where he showed special kindness to missionaries; General Li Yuan Heng, commander of the revolutionary army at Hankow; Wang Chong Wei and his two brothers; C. T. Wang, and several others who might be mentioned if space permitted. But we must look more particularly to the two outstanding Chinese of the Revolution period, Yuan Shih Kai and Sun Yat Sen.

Yuan Shih Kai had long been one of the most powerful officials of the Empire and he is undoubtedly the ablest living Chinese. Born in 1858

in the Province of Honan, he quickly developed unusual abilities. He early attracted the attention of the great Viceroy Li Hung Chang, who in 1884 caused him to be sent to Korea as Resident Envoy. Although only twenty-six years old, his force of character soon made him a power in that stormy capital, and for nine years he was a conspicuous member of its diplomatic corps. He has been charged with arrogance and arbitrariness in this position, and it has been said that his course precipitated the China-Japan War which resulted so disastrously for China. But on his return to China in 1893, he was made commander of a division of the "New Imperial Army" at Tien-tsin, a post in which he manifested high military and administrative qualities. He organized and equipped his troops on the best foreign models and they speedily became an effective modern force. In 1894, he was Chief of the Military Secretariat in Manchuria, in 1895 Civil Commandant of the German drilled forces and Director-General of Trade and International Relations, in 1897 Judicial Commissioner of the Imperial Province of Chih-li, in 1899 Junior Vice-President of the Board of Works, in December of the same year Acting Governor of the Province of Shantung, and in March, 1900, he was confirmed as Governor of that great Province. Here his capacity for administration had large scope. "He had assumed

charge at a time when chaos and disorder throughout the Province were most prevalent. His very first struggle was made in opposition to the numerous banks which sprang up like mushrooms during the régime of the Provisional Government. These were organized in most cases without capital, business being done on the deposits and on promises to pay. Foreseeing that serious results must follow, His Excellency took these banks in hand, suppressed their indiscriminate issue of notes, regulated their credit systems, and for a time ruled, necessarily, with a rod of iron. Naturally, resistance resulted and dire ruin and financial disaster seemed most imminent. Gradually, however, the weaker banks failed, or were crushed out of existence, while the stronger were forced to adopt honest methods, and the honor and credit of the city were saved. Thieves and plunderers had organized systematically and were busily engaged in committing crimes of every conceivable nature. To combat these, His Excellency organized a police force, and the villains were arrested, imprisoned and, in aggravated cases, beheaded. In a very short time, order was brought out of chaos, peace and confidence were restored throughout the Province, and the wheels of progress set in motion and the interests of all the people were conserved." [1]

[1] Report of the American Consul-General at Tien-tsin to the State Department, October 26, 1907.

1. Setting Chinese type

2. Setting English type

COMPOSING ROOM OF A MISSION PRESS, SHANGHAI

I met him in Tsinan-fu, his capital, in the summer of 1901. I had sent my card and letters of introduction, and he had promptly set a time for my call. With true courtesy, he met us at the entrance of the palace grounds and led us into his private office. He impressed me at once as a remarkable man. He was then forty-two years of age, of medium height, rather stout, with a strong face, a clear frank eye, and a most engaging manner. He would be considered a man of striking appearance anywhere. He was very cordial and we had a long and interesting conversation which was carried on through his Chinese interpreter, who, by the way, had spent two years in Columbia University, New York. He surprised me by his familiarity with America, especially as he spoke no English and had never been out of Asia. He discussed plans that he had made to start a daily newspaper, a military academy and a literary college. His idea was to have in each institution two students from each of the 108 counties in the Province, and thus to train a body of men who would be able to carry "light and learning" into their respective districts. He appeared to be desirous of doing everything in his power to enlighten the 38,000,000 people whom he ruled. In answer to a question as to the teaching of foreign languages, he said that English, French and German would be taught, but that German would probably be the

most useful of the foreign tongues on account of the number of Germans in the eastern part of the Province.

The policy of Yuan Shih Kai during the Boxer troubles indicated the wisdom and courage of the man. Disturbances had already begun when he assumed office. It was not far southwest of Tsinan-fu that Mr. Brooks, the English missionary, was murdered by the Boxers. Yu Hsien was then Governor of Shantung, but shortly afterward was transferred to Shan-si, Yuan Shih Kai taking his place. If the notorious, foreign-hating Yu Hsien had remained in Shantung, he would probably have massacred the missionaries there as he did those of Shan-si, where he invited them all to his yamen and then began the butchery by killing three missionaries with his own hand. But Yuan Shih Kai foresaw the inevitable result of such barbarity, and determined to restrain the Boxers and protect the foreigners. He succeeded in the latter, not one foreigner being killed after he took control and all being helped as far as possible to escape.

This apparently pro-foreign policy brought upon the Governor the displeasure of the Empress Dowager, who was then encouraging the Boxers and upon whom his position and his hopes of future preferment appeared to depend. He was the object too, of no small obloquy from the fiercely fanatical conservatives who wanted to murder

every foreigner within reach. Indeed the fury of the populace was so great that he was bitterly reviled as a "secondary devil" and his life was repeatedly threatened. But despite the clamor of the mob, the opposition of his associates in the government of the Province, and the displeasure of the all-powerful Empress Dowager, he maintained his position with stern inflexibility. On one occasion, a deputation of prominent Boxers waited upon him, told him of the rising tide of anti-foreign feeling, and urged him to place himself at the head of the movement and free his country once for all from the obnoxious western influences. Yuan Shih Kai was too intelligent to imagine that foreigners could be permanently driven out of China. He knew that the day for that had passed, and he told his callers of the certain defeat that awaited them. They replied that victory was absolutely sure because the Boxer warriors were protected by magic which made them immune from the foreigners' bullets. He grimly responded that his soldiers had some of those bullets and he suggested that the deputation give him an exhibition of their immunity in their own persons. They demurred, but he was inexorable, and after he had hospitably entertained them at a feast, he commanded them to line up against the wall of the palace enclosure, and then, deaf to their frightened appeals, had a firing squad shoot them down to a man. That ended the

Boxer Uprising in Shantung and prevented its spread southward. Afterwards, the people realized that their iron Governor had saved them from the awful punishment that was inflicted upon the neighboring Province of Chih-li, and his power and prestige became greater than ever.

In November, 1901, he was elevated to the Viceroyalty of Chih-li. As Chih-li is not only one of the greatest Provinces of the Empire, but includes the Imperial city of Peking, and the ports of Tong-ku and Tien-tsin, the gateways to the capital, its Viceroy controlled the avenues of approach to the Throne and was charged with the protection of the Royal Family. Here he had free access to the Emperor and Empress Dowager. It was this position of high vantage which enabled Li Hung Chang to become well-nigh omnipotent in China. Yuan Shih Kai is not such a wily schemer as his distinguished predecessor was and he did not use his position to amass such a huge personal fortune as Li Hung Chang accumulated. But he is quite as able a man and more frank and reliable. He made a profound impression upon the Empress Dowager, who was a keen judge of men and who so quickly forgave him for his course in the Boxer troubles that, on her return to Peking, he was made Junior Guardian of the Heir Apparent and given the high honor of the Yellow Jacket. In 1902, he was made Administrator-General of the North

China Railways, then consulting member of the Reform Council and Army Organization Council, Junior President of the Board of Foreign Affairs, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and finally Grand Councillor of the Empire. Surely few living men have had a more varied experience in administrative public positions.

Yuan Shih Kai, while not an extremist, is a progressive Chinese fully recognizing the necessity of adopting modern methods. He it was who had his soldiers throw away their bows and arrows, engaged German army officers, and gave China a small but effective army, provided with modern rifles and disciplined as no Chinese troops had ever been before. He built well-equipped hospitals for them and enforced the most approved sanitary measures. He was a leader not only in the new military science but in education, founding schools and making broad plans for the diffusion of intelligence among the people.

When in 1904, there was an attempt to revive the Boxer movement, Yuan Shih Kai promptly issued a proclamation beginning with these peremptory words: "Anyone creating wild rumors calculated to alarm or produce doubt in the people's mind will be beheaded! Anyone teaching or learning mystic practices, like Boxer measures and red-lantern doctrines, will be beheaded!" That proclamation of the iron Viceroy dampened the ardor

of the anti-foreign agitators, for they had no liking for the fate of the Boxer leaders of Shantung under his Governorship.

The American Consul General at Tien-tsin, in his report to the State Department, October 26, 1907, from which I have already quoted, also said: "Of the many acts of progress accomplished by His Excellency only a few are herein mentioned, viz.: simplified language in Chinese schools; the establishment of a self-government office; the establishment of a preparatory civil school; schools for the training of the officials; the introduction of constitutional government; the establishment of a civil normal school for teachers; the organization of savings banks for the people; the establishment of a school of politics and law; a system of competitive examination of applicants for the customs service; a school for the study and discussion of all affairs in connection with the adoption of the proposed constitutional and parliamentary government for China; a form of civil government for the city of Tien-tsin; a system of election of officials for the city, the first and only popular election ever held in China being that of July 24, 1907. In addition, we might mention that mints have been established for the coinage of copper, silver and gold coins; military and normal schools have also been built; and, in addition, large buildings for reform, industrial, and training schools have been

built, as well as cotton and paper mills, all of these institutions being in good working order. Fine buildings, macadamized roads, and splendid steel and iron bridges have been constructed, and steam rollers are to be seen daily at work on streets in the native city. A splendid sanitary department has been organized, and, under its guiding hand, the health of the native city has been very materially improved. He has established the best of relations with the foreigners, and by sturdy, honest efforts has won the good will of the natives as well. He is far-seeing and his advice has been constantly sought by the Government at Peking, the best Edicts being the result of his suggestions, notably the promised efforts towards constitutional government and the suppression of the opium traffic."

He is a Confucianist; but he showed the breadth of his intelligence and his appreciation of the high character of Protestant missionaries by selecting, in 1898, a Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Dr. Herbert E. House, as the tutor of his son, Yuan Yen Tai, and in 1900, by inviting the Rev. Dr. Watson M. Hayes, then President of the Presbyterian Mission College at Teng-chou, to become President of the Literary College which Yuan Shih Kai had established at Tsinan-fu. His opinion of idols was indicated in 1906, when during a visit to Paoting-fu, he told the elders of the Tu-ti

temples to the local divinities, where report is always made of the death of any individual in that district, that he wanted the temples for police stations, and he had all the idols gathered up, and thrown into the river. The missionaries went to see how the people would take the order, and found thousands lining the river banks and laughing over it as a great joke, saying, "The gods are getting a bath."

He has had many enemies, as every strong man has, especially in Asia. He had added the late Emperor to this list in connection with the Coup d'État of 1898. The Emperor counted on Yuan Shih Kai, then forty years of age and Judicial Commissioner of Chih-li, to support his reform policies. He summoned him to private audiences, revealed his plans, explained that Jung Lu, then the powerful Manchu Viceroy of Chih-li, was the chief obstacle to his efforts, assigned to Yuan Shih Kai a high command in the army, and ordered him to proceed at once to Tien-tsin, put Jung Lu to death, and at the head of his troops march to Peking and imprison the Empress Dowager. Yuan Shih Kai was a personal friend of Jung Lu, but he received these instructions with apparent humility and obedience and hurried to Tien-tsin. But instead of decapitating Jung Lu, he told him of his orders and gave him an opportunity to save himself. Jung Lu sped to Peking on a special

train and revealed the plot to the Empress Dowager, who had been his warm friend for many years and, it was generally believed, something more than a friend. She acted with characteristic vigor. Trusty soldiers were summoned to relieve the Emperor's guards; the Palace was secretly surrounded; and the next morning the Emperor was seized, locked up in a palace on an island in the small lake within the royal enclosure, and an Imperial Edict announced that the Emperor "had besought Her Majesty to condescend once more to administer the Government." The Emperor remained a virtual prisoner of State until his death in 1908. The last night of his life, he painfully wrote a message which included these words: "For our misery of the last ten years Yuan Shih Kai is responsible.—When the time comes, I desire that Yuan be summarily beheaded."

Yuan has been bitterly arraigned for treachery to the Emperor in this affair. His friends hold that he did not intend treachery but only consultation with his superior officer as to what ought to be done in a grave crisis where the carrying out of the Imperial command would have resulted in certain disaster to the country. Yuan was far from being a reactionary, but he was wise enough to see that the weak and impulsive Emperor could not suddenly transform China in that way, and he naturally hesitated to lend himself to an enterprise

which he believed to be premature and to be destined to certain failure. The soundness of his judgment is now generally recognized, whatever may be thought of his loyalty to the Emperor.

When, in 1908, the death of the Emperor and the Empress Dowager brought to the Throne the infant son of the brother of the late Emperor, and the brother became Prince Regent and the widow Empress Dowager, it was a foregone conclusion that Yuan Shih Kai's official career would come to an abrupt end. The embittered Prince Regent and Empress Dowager would have beheaded him if they had dared; but Yuan Shih Kai was too powerful to be dealt with in that way, and the Ministers of several European Powers intimated that such a punishment would create an impression that would be " highly unfavorable " to the administration. The Prince Regent was therefore forced to content himself with removing Yuan Shih Kai from office. He did this in accordance with the most exquisite traditions of Oriental " face." The order expressed the profound solicitude of the Prince Regent that so valued and distinguished an official was grievously suffering from rheumatism in his leg, and that heavy as was the sorrow of the Throne and the loss to the State, common sympathy and humanity required that Yuan Shih Kai should be relieved from the onerous burdens that he was bearing and be permitted to seek the rest

that his malady imperatively required. Yuan Shih Kai, who was in perfect health, at once retired to his private estate near Shunte-fu, where he lived quietly as a private citizen. This was in 1908. When I was in Peking a year later, the Rev. Dr. W. A. P. Martin, who was close to the family, told me that neither Yuan Shih Kai nor his son had any expectation that he would be restored to office as long as the Prince Regent and the Empress Dowager were in power, and their overthrow did not appear to be imminent at that time. It was a sudden fall, and from the highest position which a subject could attain, for Yuan Shih Kai was Grand Councillor when he was dismissed. Cardinal Wolsey did not fall farther or more suddenly. It looked like the disastrous ending of a great career, and that too, in the prime of life. Yuan Shih Kai bore himself in misfortune with the dignity of a noble soul. His power and prestige were so great that he could probably have overthrown the Prince Regent if he had been disposed to disobey the command to retire from office. The best soldiers in the Empire had been raised and disciplined by him and he was popular with Chinese and foreigners alike. Western nations would doubtless have supported him if he treated the Prince Regent as the former Empress Dowager had treated the late Emperor in the Coup d'État of 1898. But Yuan Shih Kai was a wise and patriotic as well as

resolute man and he was unwilling that revolution should be precipitated on his personal account.

He had his revenge in full measure. When the Throne began to totter, the frightened Prince Regent and Empress Dowager were forced to yield to the overwhelming general opinion that the Manchu Dynasty was doomed unless Yuan Shih Kai could be persuaded to save it, and they abjectly besought him to come to their relief. He showed that he was not destitute of a sense of humor by respectfully replying that he was deeply sensible of the honor that was shown him, and that his humble services were always at the disposal of his country, but that unhappily the rheumatism in his leg still incapacitated him from active duty! He waited for several months before giving a final acceptance, every day making clearer that he alone was the man for the crisis. It is probable that he was all the time in secret correspondence with the Generals of the Revolution and that he was using his influence with them to save his country from prolonged internecine strife. Indeed when the secret history of the Revolution shall become known, it may be found that Yuan Shih Kai had, from the beginning, a larger relation to the whole movement than is commonly supposed; although he may not have approved of all that the southern leaders did.

When at last he emerged from retirement and

entered Peking in state, he immediately became the object of universal attention and the virtual dictator of the Empire. Foreigners openly expressed their relief that he was again at the helm. *Punch* has suggested that all foreigners in China believe that Yuan is the man of the hour because his is the only Chinese name that they can pronounce; but he is a masterful leader who inspires confidence in all who know him.

His position was one of extraordinary difficulty and he manifested qualities quite as extraordinary. He stood between the Imperialists and the Revolutionists, trying to moderate the demands of both and to guide affairs to a peaceable conclusion. It was clear that the Chinese were henceforth to govern themselves, but there was dispute whether they should do so under the forms of a republic after the American model, or of a limited constitutional monarchy after the British model. The Revolutionists insisted upon the former. Yuan Shih Kai, in common with most of the foreign friends of China, doubted whether it was prudent to break so suddenly with immemorial monarchical traditions, and whether the masses of the Chinese people had yet acquired sufficient education and developed adequate national consciousness and unity to afford stable basis for a republican form of government. A limited constitutional monarchy, with an elected parliament and a cabinet and prime minister re-

sponsible to it, would, he believed, best conserve the common interest and lessen the danger of civil wars and foreign intervention.

The Republicans would not have it this way and became vehement in their demands. When Yuan Shih Kai would not yield, they proceeded to set up a Republic without him, established their capital at Nanking, and elected Sun Yat Sen President. It appeared for a time as if the Chinese had overthrown the Manchus only to fight among themselves, or else to split the country into two rival nations—a northern kingdom and a southern republic. If Yuan Shih Kai could have negotiated a foreign loan to equip and maintain an army, he might have fought it out. A syndicate of foreign bankers was reported to be ready to lend him money, but Great Britain objected. Her interests were in central and southern China where the Revolutionists were in full control, and she had no mind to bring their wrath upon her by helping to finance their enemies. Moreover, the Revolutionists announced that, while they would respect all foreign treaties and obligations which had been in existence prior to the proclamation of the Republic, they would repudiate any that were made after that date. Yuan Shih Kai compelled the rich Manchu princes to disgorge some of their ill-gotten wealth; but though this gave him several millions, it did not furnish enough for a successful war. Perhaps

there was a better secret understanding between Yuan Shih Kai and the Republicans than appeared on the surface, and perhaps he used the ostensible demands of the Republicans as a club to bring the Manchus into submission. At any rate, the Republicans were inexorable, and it soon became clear that the bulk of the nation was with them. They recognized and admired Yuan Shih Kai's ability and prestige and declared their readiness to receive him as President of a republic, but not as Prime Minister of a Manchu Emperor, even though the latter had only the shadow of a throne.

Here again Yuan Shih Kai showed that he possessed wisdom, forbearance and patience as well as ability and force. He might now have deposed and expelled the Manchu rulers. But he knew that this would make them bitter enemies, that they might retire to Mongolia and enter into alliance with Russia, or to Manchuria and enter into alliance with Japan, and, in either case, make serious trouble for the new Government and perhaps keep up a struggle which might end in foreign intervention. So he bent all his tact and skill to persuade the Manchus peaceably and voluntarily to abdicate. It was a long and wearisome task. Some of the princes and dukes thought it better to yield than to run the risk of expulsion and ruin; but others stubbornly held on. There were stormy conferences within the precincts of the Forbidden City.

The Empress Dowager wept and wrung her hands and several times fainted. The Revolutionists became more impatient and peremptory. Yuan Shih Kai grew haggard and worn. His enemies multiplied. As he was returning from a trying interview at the Palace, January 16, 1912, a fanatic threw a bomb at him. Fortunately, it exploded twenty feet behind the Premier's carriage so that he was uninjured; but four men and six horses were killed and nineteen men were wounded. Yuan Shih Kai, however, held to his course with unflinching persistence and undismayed fortitude.

Finally, he succeeded in convincing the recalcitrant Manchus that he was their friend in advising them that abdication was the least of the ills to which they were exposed, and on February 12th, the long suspense was ended by an Imperial Edict announcing the abdication of the Imperial Family. Three days later, February 15th, Sun Yat Sen resigned the Presidency of the Republic and the National Assembly at Nanking elected Yuan Shih Kai to the Presidency of the now united Republic. An election to such an exalted post, by such a people, in such circumstances, by a unanimous vote, was surely a high tribute both to Yuan Shih Kai and to the men who elected him. On March 10th, amid impressive ceremonies, he was formally inaugurated President of the mighty nation in which, only a few months before, he had

been a private citizen under the Imperial ban. Few other men in history have had such kaleidoscopic changes of fortune, and few others have possessed the transcendent abilities that lift one so high above the common crowd. One does not wonder that the celebrated Dutch painter, Hubert Vos, several years ago chose Yuan Shih Kai as one of the men whose portraits he was painting for a collection of world notables for a Paris Exposition, and that when Admiral Lord Charles Beresford of the British Navy returned from a tour of Asia, he said, "I have met one man in China, and that man is Yuan Shih Kai."

Sun Yat Sen's part in the Revolution and in subsequent occurrences deserves high praise. This remarkable man is the son of a humble Cantonese who emigrated to the Hawaiian Islands, and afterwards returned to Canton, where he was converted and became a worker in the mission of the London Missionary Society. Sun Yat Sen was not born in the Hawaiian Islands, as popularly reported, but he himself declares that he was born in China.[1] His friend, the Rev. Huie Kin, of New York, says that the place was Houng Sun, in the Province of Kwang-tung. His boyhood was spent in Honolulu, where he began his education in an Episcopal school. Returning to China, he completed his education in mission schools in Hong-kong and

[1] "My Reminiscences," article in *The Strand Magazine*, April, 1912.

Canton, learning English and studying medicine under the famous John G. Kerr, M.D., of the Presbyterian Mission in Canton. He became a Christian, was baptized in Hong-kong by the Rev. Dr. C. R. Hager, a Congregational missionary, and is to-day a consistent member of the Congregational Church. He married and his wife and two sons were, at last accounts, living with his widowed mother in Hong-kong.

Sun Yat Sen early identified himself with the revolutionary movement. The premature discovery of a plot to capture Canton compelled him to leave the country, and for years he was an exile and a wanderer with a price upon his head. In these circumstances, he devoted himself to promoting revolutionary sentiment among the various Chinese colonies in the ports of Asia outside of China, and in Europe and America, and to correspondence with the revolutionary leaders in China. He journeyed and labored indefatigably to advance the cause to which he had consecrated his life and which he firmly believed to be the cause of patriotism. The Government made repeated efforts to arrest him, and once he was inveigled into the Chinese Legation in London and held a prisoner. But before he could be deported, British law liberated him. It speaks much for the skill and magnetism of this apparently obscure adventurer, who was without official rank or influence,

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who was hounded as an outlaw by the Imperial Government, and whose assassination would have brought to the murderer a handsome fortune, that he seemed to live a charmed life, to be protected by his countrymen wherever he went, to collect great sums from them, and to induce shrewd foreign capitalists to make considerable loans to the revolutionary movement. He frequently visited San Francisco and New York, conferring with financiers and influential Chinese merchants and lecturing to crowded audiences of Chinese.

He was a man of quiet demeanor and he lived unostentatiously when in New York. Those who visited him there little dreamed that he was one of the master minds of a revolutionary movement of unprecedentedly colossal proportions.

He hastened back to his native land when the Revolution broke out and was promptly hailed as its civil leader, in spite of the fact that he had been out of the country for fifteen years. There were many misgivings among the foreign friends of China when he accepted the Presidency of the Republic, December 29, 1911. Did his election represent the real judgment of the people or the hasty action of a rump Assembly? Was he, with all due recognition of his worth, a sufficiently commanding personality for a situation which needed a combination of Oliver Cromwell and George Washington? Could the great Yuan Shih Kai,

who had long been the most powerful man in China, who had held the exalted rank of Governor, Viceroy, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Grand Councillor of the Empire, and who was now in actual possession of the Government in Peking, be reasonably expected to make way for this comparatively unknown man of forty-six years, who had never held an office in his life and was therefore without official rank and administrative experience? Sun Yat Sen promptly allayed these misgivings by publicly declaring that he considered himself merely a Provisional President in order to give civil existence and unity to the Revolution and that he was ready to lay down his high office as soon as a permanent republican Government could be established, especially if Yuan Shih Kai would accept the Presidency. This sounded well; but when a man had tasted the sweets of rank and power after weary years as a hunted exile, would it be human nature for him to carry out his promise?

He fulfilled his promise. As soon as the abdication of the Manchus was announced and he was assured of the loyal adherence of Yuan Shih Kai to the Republic, Sun Yat Sen resigned the Presidency in an address of mingled modesty and dignity worthy of the finest traditions of patriotism in any land. It was a scene of historic impressiveness when the National Assembly, in accepting his resignation and electing Yuan Shih Kai, justly

declared that Sun Yat Sen had afforded the world "an example of purity of purpose and self-sacrifice unparalleled in history." Breadth of mind to conceive vast plans, skill in persuading large numbers of men to accept them, courage to brave powerful foes, fortitude and determination which no discouragement could shake, force of character so to impress his countrymen that, on his return after an absence of fifteen years, ambitious revolutionary leaders instantly acknowledged his supremacy, wisdom and modesty to see that he ought to make way for another, and moral grandeur to carry out this self-effacing purpose—such a combination of high qualities the world has seldom seen. And in and through all, Sun Yat Sen has a Christian faith which opposition of relatives could not prevent him from openly confessing, which he never concealed from his non-Christian revolutionary associates, and which led him to say of his darkest hours as a prisoner in the Chinese Legation in London: "My despair was complete and only by prayer to God could I gain any comfort. . . . I shall never forget the feeling that seemed to take possession of me as I rose from my knees on the morning of Friday, October 16th—a feeling of calmness, hopefulness and confidence, that assured me my prayer was heard and filled me with hope that all would yet be well."—With such men as these, the new China deserves the respect of mankind.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FUTURE OF THE REPUBLIC AND THE DUTY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES OF THE WEST

Will the Republic endure? Who can tell? Thoughtful observers are not yet sure that the American Republic will endure. The mob and "the man on horseback" are always in the background of every republic. China is far better fitted for republican institutions than the Philippine Islands or the Mexican, Central American and South American Republics. Her people are more stable, peaceable and law abiding in temperament, their respect for constituted authority is greater, and the government of their local communities has long been more largely democratic in character.

Nevertheless, the diffusion of those fundamental ideas of education and religion upon which popular government must rest has been a matter of only a few decades in China. Vast numbers of the people have as yet been but slightly touched by them. Multitudes who have received the external forms of western civilization and government have not yet adopted the Christian basis of morals which guarantees the wise use of wider opportunity. The

spirit of loyalty as against other nations is strong, but the sense of unity between the widely separated parts of the country is still weak. Whether the people are expecting the new Government instantly to right all wrongs, remedy all abuses, and usher in an era of unexampled prosperity, and whether, when they find that the millennium does not at once come, they will become restive, remains to be seen. It remains to be seen also whether the Provinces will submit to governmental measures which do not please them. Revolutions start easily among such an enormous population, spread over a vast territory in which there are yet so few railroads that distant provinces are difficult to reach. Mongolia is likely to become a Cave of Adullam. Manchus, too few to fight, are numerous enough to fan embers of discontent and intrigue with foreign foes. Flood and famine may again make millions desperate. The army is a precarious dependence, as Yuan Shih Kai found to his sorrow when he faced a mutiny after his election to the Presidency. Americans who remember the guerrilla warfare which followed the war between the States will be slow to take pessimistic views of an outbreak of ignorant Chinese soldiers, whose pay was in arrears, who feared that they were to be disbanded without their just dues, and whose cupidity was excited by the hoarded riches of wealthy nobles and merchants. When society

has been so upheaved as Chinese society has been, time is required for the subsidence of tumult and the establishment of a new order.

There is, too, the possibility of complications with foreign nations. As we have seen in a former chapter, European powers have long greedily watched this vast and comparatively helpless country. Russia is eager to strengthen her interests in Mongolia and northern Manchuria. Japan is interested in southern Manchuria, Germany in Shantung, England in the valleys of the Yang-tze and Pearl Rivers, and France in Hai-nan and Yun-nan. Not only territorial ambitions but large financial interests are involved, for China owes other nations $625,000,000 gold. The heavy interest charges were kept up with difficulty in the face of a deficit in the national treasury, and if the interest now falls behind and the principal is thought to be jeopardized, there will be a pretext for interference by Powers that are always looking for one. Payments due on account of the Boxer indemnity have already been interrupted by the Revolution, and while the new Government will undoubtedly resume them in the near future, this obligation is a constant source of irritation to the Chinese. Western nations will doubtless be cautious about overt acts of interference, but they may make their sinister influence felt in fomenting internal troubles and in secretly encouraging the embittered Man-

chus and any ambitious Chinese officials who may become aggrieved by their failure to receive what they deem due recognition from Yuan Shih Kai. The fact that China's new Government is republican does not add to the joy of Kings and Kaisers. They will not, of course, publicly admit this; but their real opinion can be readily understood. Every throne in the world is weaker because the Chinese people have unseated a sovereign and set up a Republic, and monarchical Japan and Europe will not be sorry if the experiment does not prove successful. The partition of China by the Powers, however, is hardly probable. No one nation would be permitted by other nations to make China either a tributary or a protectorate. A half-dozen Powers are determined to have a share if the break-up comes; but they could not agree among themselves as to division of the spoil. Each has thus far taken what it could get, and is far from pleased to see what its rivals are getting. Actual partition would mean a scramble that would precipitate a general war; and such a war would involve so many uncertainties not only as to the result in China, but as to possible readjustments in Europe itself, that the Powers wisely shrink from it. So they prefer, for the present at least, the policy of "spheres of influence," as giving them a commercial foothold and political influence with less risk of trouble.

But in spite of the difficulties that beset the new Republic, there is large hope for the future. The mightiest currents of modern life are sweeping toward "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." The Chinese have undertaken a gigantic task, but they have shown earnestness, intelligence, and resolution in the steps that they have thus far taken. However trying the period of transition may be, the issue is not doubtful. Progress invariably wins the victory over blind conservatism. The higher idea is sure to conquer the lower. With all their admixture of selfishness and violence, the fact remains that the forces operating in China to-day include the vital elements for the regenerating of human society.

Will the new China be a menace to the nations of the West? Not if they treat it decently. The temperament of the Chinese does not incline them to foreign aggression. But the spirit of new China is less meek under injustice than was that of old China. A significant illustration of this was given when President Sun Yat Sen, before the Republic was firmly established, gave the Dutch in Batavia one week to make reparation for the murder of several Chinese and ordered three cruisers to hold themselves in readiness to shell the Dutch city if his ultimatum was not complied with.

Much has been written about the "Yellow Peril." Some have made light of it, as "a mere

bugaboo of an excited imagination," because, as they allege, China has neither the organization nor the valor to fight Europe, and if it had, could not transport its army and navy so vast a distance. But surely organization and valor can be acquired by the Chinese as well as by other peoples. Their present helplessness before the aggressive foreigner is rapidly teaching them the necessity for the former. As for the latter, it is well known that the most dangerous fighter is the strong but peaceably disposed man who has been goaded to desperation by long-continued insult and injustice. Americans may discreetly remember that they themselves were once sneeringly described as " a nation of shopkeepers who wouldn't and couldn't fight."

China has plenty of men who can fight, and when they are well commanded, they make as good soldiers as there are in the world, as " Chinese Gordon " showed. Was not his force called the " Ever Victorious Army," because it was never defeated? Lord Charles Beresford, of the English Navy, said, after personal inspection of many of the troops of China, " I am convinced that properly armed, disciplined and led, there could be no better material than the Chinese soldier." Admiral Dewey reported that the fifty Chinese who served under him in the battle of Manila Bay fought so magnificently that they proved themselves equal in courage to American sailors, and

recommended that they should be made American citizens by special enactment.

China's humiliations at the hands of foreign countries, which she regarded as inferior but which had more effective armies, have taught her the bitter lesson that she must change her military methods, put a higher class of men into her regiments, give them better pay and equipment, secure a higher grade of officers, remove the stigma that has heretofore rested upon the profession of arms and accord officers a status which will make military service more attractive to educated men. Under the energetic leadership of the two most enlightened Viceroys, Yuan Shih Kai and Chang Chih-tung, army corps aggregating 150,000 men had been developed by 1906 and foreign military attachés who witnessed their autumn manœuvres " reported with surprise that they had seen a formidable modern army and a display momentous and epoch-making in the history of the Far East." When Lieutenant General MacArthur, of the United States Army, inspected the 10,000 troops at the military post at Tsinan-fu in 1910, he said to the missionary who accompanied him: " Why, this is intensely interesting. Look at those barracks built of Oregon pine and lit with electricity! They are as good as our western armies have. Then the drill! There is no army with which I am acquainted which has learned in more soldierly

fashion this first lesson in the alphabet of war. And the significant thing is that the Chinese are doing it themselves—not a Japanese or German in sight." This camp was but one of six in north China and north China was but one of the four military districts of the Empire.

It is odd that any intelligent person should suppose that distance is an effectual barrier against an aroused and organized Asia. It is no farther from China to Europe than from Europe to China, and Europe has not found the distance a barrier to its designs on China. England, Germany, France, Russia, and even the Netherlands and Portugal, have all managed to send battleships and troops to the Far East, to seize territory and to subjugate the inhabitants. Why should it be deemed impossible for China, which is as large as these nations combined, to do what they have done? As late as the beginning of 1904, Russia ridiculed the idea that Japan could do anything against a western power, and all Europe and America, while admiring the pluck of the Japanese, confidently expected them to be crushed by the Slav. Wise men will think twice in the future before they sneer at the yellow race. If Japan in half a century could go from junks and cloisonné to battleships and magazine rifles, and to handling them, too, more scientifically and effectively than they were ever handled by white men, why should it be

deemed chimerical that China, with equal ability, greater resources and certainly no less provocation, should in time achieve even vaster results? "You urge us to move faster," said a Mandarin to a foreigner. "We are slow to respond, for we are a conservative people; but if you force us to start, we may move faster and farther than you like."

It would be unwise to underestimate the gravity of the situation, or to assume that the most numerous and conservative nation on the globe has been suddenly and completely transformed in character. The movement toward better conditions may be attended by mistakes and manifestations of human infirmity. Inflamed passions may be slow in subsiding. Men who are identified with the old era will not give up without a struggle. Many of the Revolutionists may be intoxicated by their sudden success and advocate all sorts of vagaries. In spite of the national spirit of sobriety and conservatism, there is a good deal of the heady, rhetorical sophomore in some of the younger Chinese.

But let us not be deceived by the disturbances incident to a period of transition during which good and evil are struggling together for the mastery, and during which also mixed motives appear among those who are being used, perhaps unconsciously to themselves, for the inauguration of a better day. It took five hundred years to bring Europe only part of the way from paganism to

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THE NEW SOLDIERY OF CHINA

Christianity; and China is larger by far and is more conservative than Europe. The world moves faster now, and the change-producing forces of the present exceed those of former centuries as a modern steam hammer exceeds a wooden sledge. But China is ponderous, and a few decades are short for so gigantic a transformation. Whatever may be the blunders and crimes of the changing order, however uncertain progress may be here and there, whatever backward steps may be taken for a time, it is clear that conditions can never revert to their former state. The old order has been broken up once for all. That dam has burst. We must be large-minded enough and have enough of the Christian altruistic spirit to discern the good that will surely follow. The Crusades were frightful tragedies and attended by horrors over which the world still shudders; but they broke up the stagnation of the Middle Ages. They liberated men's minds from iron-bound traditions. They gave new knowledge of other peoples. They awakened new aspirations, and they so changed the conditions which had hitherto repressed truth and liberty that they made possible a better era. May we not believe that the present upheaval in China may, in the providence of God, serve a similar purpose, and that even as a new Europe followed the chaos of the Crusades, so a new Asia will follow the chaos of the present Revolution?

But our late Secretary of State, John Hay, would have added reason now to repeat the warning which he uttered not long before his death: "The political storm-centre of the world has shifted steadily eastward from the Balkans, from Constantinople, from the Persian Gulf, from India, to China; and whoever understands that Empire and its people has a key to world-politics for the next five centuries."

I cannot close this chapter without reiterating my conviction that the individual Chinese is one of the most virile, industrious and self-reliant men in the world. Unaided, he overcomes obstacles and makes his way where many other men fail. He has lacked heretofore national spirit; he has not been willing to make sacrifices for the common good. China, therefore, has been weak and helpless in international affairs, as compared with the compact and united Japanese and with western governments which are able to mass their national resources for aggressive purposes. But if these individual Chinese are inspired with a national spirit, if they realize that in union is strength, then, with the weapons of modern warfare in their hands, and moving, not as individuals, but as a united country of 433,000,000 people, they will become one of the mightiest powers that the world has seen. This inspiration with a national spirit, this fusing of individualism into the unity

of a majestic nation, is now taking place. Railways and telegraphs are bringing the widely separated parts of the Empire together. Aggressions of outside nations are awakening irritation and begetting knowledge that union is necessary to preservation. Modern education is kindling new ambitions. Contact with other peoples is widening horizons. Newspapers are proclaiming reform. The Gospel of Christ is exalting ideals, creating Christian character and strengthening moral purposes. Chinese individuals are being welded in the fires of modern life into a Chinese nation. Old China memorized Confucian classics; new China studies modern science. Old China was a loose aggregation of individuals; new China is developing national unity. Old China was helpless in international affairs; new China is becoming a world power. It has been well said that the Revival of Learning, the religious Reformation, the rise of constitutional government, the development of scientific knowledge, the introduction of labor-saving machinery, and the new spirit of human brotherhood, which in Europe and America were scattered over several different countries and centuries so that the white race could, in a measure at least, adjust itself to them by degrees one at a time, have in China occurred in a single country all at once. The stupendous magnitude of this transformation dwarfs every other movement.

Our duty is not to resist it, not to drill armies and build navies for an era of conflict, but to treat the new China justly and to aid in inspiring it with noble resolve.

The most solemn responsibility rests upon the Christian Churches and upon their missionaries at such a time as this. They need to a remarkable degree a combination of wisdom, of patience, of fortitude, of courage, and of firmness. Having been led by an imperative sense of duty to preach Christian truths to China, having declared those truths which always and everywhere awaken the minds of men, they must continue their work. They cannot set in motion such vast reconstructive forces and then abandon their efforts when the old walls begin to crumble and the air is filled with flying débris and clouds of dust. The overshadowing question to-day is whether the people of God will be equal to the new emergency. If we think of the answer to this question from the view-point of the Divine purpose and power, we shall, of course, unhesitatingly answer in the affirmative. But we are to consider the question from the view-point of the human, as well as the Divine. God has chosen to work through His people, and will His people in Europe and America respond to His call? Will they see that the missionary enterprise, which stands for the purifying and regenerative influences of the world, is so sustained that it will

be adequate to the colossal needs of the new era? It would be a calamity to the whole world if the dominant nation of Asia should be anti-Christian or even non-Christian. If it is not to be, immediate and herculean efforts must be made to regenerate it. Sir Robert Hart declared that the only hope of averting "the yellow peril" lay either in partition among the great Powers, which he regarded as so difficult as to be impracticable, or in a miraculous spread of Christianity which would transform the national character.

China's new system of education shows the danger of adopting modern methods without Christian principles. It virtually debars Christians from the faculties and student body. Infidelity, however, has free entrance as long as it adheres to the external forms imposed by the State. An Edict of January, 1907, placed the veneration of Confucius upon the same level as the worship of Heaven and Earth and made homage to the tablet of Confucius compulsory upon all officials and teachers and pupils in the Government schools. Some writers have construed this as an effort on the part of the Government to avoid the difficulty which has existed in the case of Christian students who had conscientious scruples about the worship of Confucius, since Heaven and Earth are worshipped only by the Emperor. But many missionaries do not place this construction upon

the Edict. They regard it rather as an attempted defence against the growing power of Christianity. Christ, the Son of God, must be matched in the popular mind by another Divine Man, Confucius, who must be regarded henceforth as more than a holy man and sage. At any rate, the Government schools are far from being comfortable places for consistent Christians. A conference of the Manchurian Missions of the Irish Presbyterian Church and the United Free Church of Scotland, September, 1910, sent an appeal on this subject to their respective Boards, from which I make the following extracts: "The key of the religious situation in China at present is in the hands of her students. In no country of the world do educated young men hold such a position of influence as in this Empire. New schools and colleges of all grades are in existence and education is free, though not yet compulsory. The outlook of this vast body of young men is less skeptical and materialistic than formerly. But while Japanese influence and modes of thought have ready access to their minds, it is very different with Christianity." "Anti-conservative but anti-Christian," the educational movement has been characterized by Dr. Watson M. Hayes. Dr. W. A. P. Martin, formerly President of the Imperial University, declares that "if Christians at home only knew what a determined effort is being made to exclude Chris-

tian teachers and Christian text-books from Chinese Government schools, they would exert themselves to give a Christian education to the youth of China." A single mission institution, with its union of the best educational methods and the highest ideals of Christian character, will do more for the real enlightenment of China than a dozen provincial colleges where gambling and irreligion are freely tolerated, and a failure to worship the tablet of Confucius is deemed the only cardinal sin.

The Christian people of the West are not trying to give China a "civilization." They have no wish to interfere with native customs which have no moral bearing, or with those political questions which each nation has a right to decide for itself. It is true that some changes in individual and community life invariably follow the acceptance of Christianity; but these changes relate to those things that are inherently right or wrong irrespective of the government to which they appear to belong. The Gospel will do in China what it does everywhere — fight vice, cleanse foulness, dispel superstition, purify society, promote intelligence, transform life, elevate woman, and give fitness for the wise and beneficent use of power.

The question is not whether the Chinese desire Christ, but whether they need Him. A man's

answer to that question largely depends upon his own relation to Christ. If we need Him, the Chinese do. If He has done anything for us, if He has brought any dignity, power and peace into our lives, He can do as much for the Chinese. The objection that the Chinese have religions of their own is wholly misleading. Confucianism is not a religion in a proper sense of the term, but at its best an agnostic code of human relations and at its worst a superstitious worship of the spirits of ancestors. Practical Buddhism and Taoism, as they exist in China to-day, are a maze of degrading superstitions which are utterly destitute of moral vigor and of which their founders would be heartily ashamed if they could return to earth. The difference between such systems and Christianity is one not of degree, but of kind, the difference between light and darkness. If any American imagines that such so-called religions are "good enough for the Chinese," ask him whether they are good enough for him. I have scant respect for the Pharisaism which holds that the white man needs the best religion, but that any ignorant, distorted conceptions of God will do for our brother man in China.

That multitudes of Chinese outside of the Churches are beginning to have a better understanding of Christianity and are showing greater readiness to receive it, recent events clearly prove.

Candidates for Christian Ministry, Shantung Christian College

Missionaries in widely separated parts of the country write glowingly of the remarkable change in public sentiment. Bishop James W. Bashford wrote from Peking, December 22, 1911: "Whatever may be before us in the immediate future, I am confident that the greatest opportunity which ever confronted Christianity is before us in China. The Foo-chow Methodist Conference received General Sung (the new military Governor of Fokien Province) and his Cabinet in a reception during the Conference week, exactly as it had received representatives of the Manchu Government on similar occasions in previous years. The most dramatic incident in this reception was a request by the President of the Board of Posts and Communications for prayers for the Cabinet and for General Sung and the promptness with which General Sung leaped to his feet and bowed his head the moment the request was made. I offered a brief prayer at the close of my remarks, while all stood. The Rev. Huong Pau Seng says that if our Church were prepared with suitable places of worship, we could receive hundreds of thousands of people into these churches and teach them the Christian doctrine within the next few months. I have been meeting surprises ever since I came to China, but have never been more surprised than at the longing with which the Chinese turn to us for help and instruction in regard to the true God

and the true way of life in the crisis which is upon them."

This is the need to which the Churches of Europe and America are addressing themselves through the Boards of Foreign Missions. These Boards are the channels through which the highest type of Christian teaching is communicated to non-Christian peoples, the agencies which gather up the noblest forces in our modern life and faith and concentrate them upon the conditions of China. Foreign Missions is therefore not only a question of religion, but a problem of statesmanship which is of concern for the whole world. As such, it merits the sympathy and coöperation of every intelligent and broad-minded man, irrespective of his religious affiliations. Its spiritual aims are supremely sufficient for every true disciple of Christ, but its moral, social and educational value justly claims the interest and support of all. It founds schools and colleges for the training of the young; establishes hospitals for the care of the sick; operates printing-presses for the dissemination of the Bible and a Christian literature; maintains churches for the worship of God; and in and through all it preaches the transforming and uplifting Gospel of Him who alone can "speak peace" to the strifes of men.

Effort to minimize the significance of missionary work in China will be made only by those who,

destitute of vital religious faith themselves, naturally see no reason for communicating it to others, or by those who are strangely blind and deaf to the real significance of the time. In the words of Benjamin Kidd, "it is not improbable that, to a future observer, one of the most curious features of our time will appear to be the prevailing unconsciousness of the real nature of the issues in the midst of which we are living." "No more," observes Lecky, "did the statesmen and the philosophers of Rome understand the character and issues of that greatest movement of all history, of which their literature takes so little notice. That the greatest religious change in the history of mankind should have taken place under the eyes of a brilliant galaxy of philosophers and historians who were profoundly conscious of decomposition around them; that all these writers should have utterly failed to predict the issue of the movement they were then observing; and that during the space of three centuries they should have treated as simply contemptible an agency which all men must now admit to have been, for good or evil, the most powerful moral lever that has ever been applied to the affairs of men, are facts well worthy of meditation in every period of religious transition." [1]

The missionaries, through whom this great

[1] "History of European Morals," Vol. I, 359.

work is done in China, are highly educated, carefully selected men and women, the best types of western Christian character, culture, and wisdom. They are not perfect, no one is, not even the critic of the missionary enterprise; but they come nearer to perfection than any other class that I know either at home or abroad. They average very high in those qualities which fit men and women to perform a noble duty at a time and place of strategic world significance. During all the trying and sometimes dangerous period of flood, famine, pestilence and revolution, their position was one of extraordinary difficulty—myriads of starving Chinese looking to them for provisions and employment, throngs of the sick and injured daily brought for treatment, Chinese and foreigners alike expecting them to perform the herculean task of purchasing and distributing food, their compounds sometimes exposed to mob violence, frequently sheltering refugees now from one side and now from the other, and, in some places, meeting calls to mediate between the contending parties. But they bore themselves with a discretion, a dignity and a fidelity which were worthy of all praise.

I have elsewhere cited a number of instances of the recognition which the Chinese themselves are giving to the worth of the Christian enterprise, and I may add here another which bears more particularly upon the point now under discussion.

St. John's University, Shanghai

Dr. Timothy Richard of Shanghai reports that at a meeting where representatives of Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity met in 1911 in Shanghai, one Mandarin said, "When I go to the country and see a good school or college, and ask, 'Who put it up?' The answer is, 'The Christians.' When I see a good hospital where many patients are attended to daily, and ask, 'Who does this?' I am told it is the Christians. When I look over the names on the Famine Relief Committee, I find that those who are taking a leading part both in the raising of funds and in the very dangerous work of distribution of relief are Christians."

When the new building of the George Yardley Taylor Memorial Hospital was opened at Paotingfu, Dr. Charles Lewis invited all the high officials in the city to the dedication service. In showing the Provincial Treasurer the church, he pointed to certain seats, saying, "That is where the soldiers sit." "Soldiers! what soldiers?" replied the official. "Chinese soldiers from the camp over there," said the Doctor. "Why, do our Chinese soldiers come here to church?" said the Treasurer. "Yes," replied the Doctor, "lots of them." "Well," answered the official, pointing to the Ten Commandments hanging on the wall, "if you can get that teaching into their minds, they will be good soldiers." Afterwards he said: "I see now

one decided difference between Christianity and Confucianism, the motive and incentive of the two systems are not alike. Christianity seems to have the power to go out from one's self to others; it is not self-centred, but works for others. Confucianism doesn't do that. Where do you find Confucianism building hospitals and schools for poor people and strangers! Quite different!" The people in thirteen small villages near by indicated their opinion by clubbing together and presenting the hospital with a large red silk banner on which was inscribed in characters of gold the following sentence: "This place bestows grace on the Chinese people."

How soon and how adequately will the Christian Churches of the West meet the extraordinary opportunity which China now offers? It produces a feeling of impatience when one is told that all missionary plans for China must be contingent upon "the settlement of political negotiations," "the continuance in power of Yuan Shih Kai," "the maintenance of a strong foreign military and naval force in China," "the thwarting of Russia's plans for supremacy," and several other things. We cannot, indeed, be indifferent to the course of political events or to their bearing upon the missionary problem. But neither can we make our obedience to Christ and our duty to our fellow men dependent upon political considerations. For

Christian men to wait until China is pacified, or "until she is enlightened by the dissemination of truer conceptions of the western world," would be to abdicate their responsibility as the chief factor in bringing about a better state of affairs. Is the Church prepared to abandon the field to the diplomat, the soldier, the trader? How soon is China likely to be pacified by them, judging from their past acts? The Gospel is the primary need of China to-day. The period of unrest is not the time for the messenger of Christ to hold his peace, but to declare with new zeal and fidelity his ministry of reconciliation.

The force is now painfully inadequate. To say that there are 4,299 Protestant foreign missionaries in China is apt to mislead, unless one remembers the immensity of the population. Station fields with half a million people, and in some instances several millions, are comparatively well-manned if they average four missionary families and a couple of single women. There is only one missionary to 100,000 souls. But this counts the sick, the aged, recruits learning the language, wives whose time is absorbed by household cares, and men who are absent on furlough. The actual working force, therefore, is far smaller than the statistics suggest.

Of China as a whole, it is said that "some of the missionaries and some of the converts are to

be found in every one of the Provinces. But of the 1,900 odd counties into which the Provinces are divided, each with one important town and a large part of them with more than one, at least four-fifths are almost entirely unprovided with the means of hearing the Gospel." Grant that the work of direct evangelization must be done chiefly by Chinese Christians, there is still much for the missionary to do. Allowing for those who, on account of illness, furlough or other duties, are temporarily non-effective, 10,000 missionaries for China would not give a working average of one for every 50,000 of the population.

I do not profess to predict what the immediate future has in store. There are encouraging and discouraging factors. "Men ask us for the bottom facts," exclaims Dr. Arthur H. Smith, of Peking. "They can't have them, because there is no bottom and there are no facts."

We must not underestimate the difficulties of the situation. The hindrances to the progress of the Gospel were at first suspicion, dense superstition, the inertia of centuries of stagnation, fear and dislike of anything associated with white men, and powerful, established non-Christian faiths. These hindrances still exist in varying degrees of intensity. Some are showing unmistakable signs of disintegration. New hindrances, however, are developing. Knowledge of western nations is

Shi Ma-Li-A

Shi Ma-Li-A is known to her English friends as Dr. Mary Stone. She was born of Christian parents in Kiu-kiang. Through a missionary she was given an opportunity to secure a medical education in the United States. She received her M.D. from the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor in 1896. During the year 1910, Dr. Stone treated 15,941 patients in the hospital, dispensary, and homes of her native town. In addition to her work as a doctor, she directs a large training school for women and superintends primary and secondary schools in that district.

bringing new temptations. Some Chinese have thrown off the old conservatism to become as volatile as the Athenians who eagerly sought "some new thing," and social and religious vagaries of the West are finding virgin soil for a rank growth of fantastic "isms." It is easier to change political institutions than to change character so that institutions which are theoretically better will be practically operative. There is to be a new China, but whether it is to be better or worse than the old depends largely upon whether the Christian men of the West will strengthen the forces which make for righteousness.

There is immense opportunity for missionary work in China, but it must be done amid new social and political complications, the upheaval of Chinese society, the surging currents and countercurrents of a new era, the increasing anti-foreign spirit, and the stubborn feeling of multitudes in China that Christianity is not only identified with foreign ideas but is subversive of ancestral worship, to which the Chinese tenaciously cling.

But there is another side. It would not be fair, as it would not be Christian, to consider the difficulties of the future apart from the influence which the Gospel of Christ has in modifying those difficulties. It is true that forces of evil and demoralization are at work. It is true also that the constructive force of the Gospel is at work, and

that it is the mightiest force of all. The Gospel has shown its overcoming power in other lands and times, and it will show it again in China. A recent traveler declares that it will take 500 years to convert China. Well, Christianity has been operating upon the Anglo-Saxon race for 1,500 years, and neither Great Britain nor America is converted yet. No other cities in the world have had the pure Gospel preached to them for a longer period than London, Edinburgh and Glasgow; but the Christians in those cities confess that they are appalled by the wickedness in them. Even if it does take 500 years to convert China, which has nearly three times as many people as Great Britain and America combined, it would not be a reason for withholding from the Chinese the truths which transform every man who accepts them. We do not refuse to give China our medical science because diseases still prevail in America, and no more should we refuse to give Christian teaching because some at home still ignore or reject it.

Grant that the evangelization of China is a big task, and it certainly is, we may be cheered by the great progress that is being made, by the evidence that Christianity has taken root so that there is a Church which is well established and certain to grow. We may be encouraged, too, by the fact that the Churches contain a larger

number of Christians of the second and third generation, and are attracting men of intelligence who are fitted for leadership. The Christian movement is gaining strength and momentum, and the larger faith and sounder character of men who are at a farther remove from original heathenism. The first converts find it very difficult to emancipate themselves from inherited superstitions and wrong practices; but these superstitions and practices are weaker in the second generation, and still weaker in the third, while the Christian convictions and standards are proportionately stronger. There is a limit to this line of argument, for the oldest Church in time is not always the best in character; but broadly speaking, children who have grown up in a believing household, accustomed from their earliest recollections to prayer and the Word of God, and who are led to Christ before idolatry and vice gain a hold, are apt to be better Christians than those who grow up in heathenism and become Christians later in life. It is, therefore, a distinct encouragement that we now have a considerable and rapidly increasing number of such Christians. Everywhere I went, I asked not only missionaries, but Chinese pastors, elders and evangelists what they thought of the future, and without exception I found their attitude hopeful to the point of enthusiasm. They felt absolutely confident that the cause of Christ is firmly es-

tablished in China and that great days are to come. As I journeyed through that great land, asking questions, making investigations regarding the conditions and perplexities of the work, and noting the changes that had taken place since my former visit, I found myself repeatedly uttering the words, "What hath God wrought!"

I close this study of the new China oppressed by the magnitude of the task which we have undertaken, feeling keenly its difficulties, not underestimating the formidable opposition which we encounter. But I am inspired by a stronger confidence in the vitality of the Gospel, a more assured conviction that amid all the tumult of a changing order, the purpose of the omnipotent and ever-living God is being steadily developed. I am impressed by the fidelity and enthusiasm of the missionaries and cheered by the example of Chinese Christians who, amid toil and poverty and sometimes persecution, are serving their Lord with gladness of heart. "A growing Church among a strong people burdened by a decadent Empire—the spirit of life working against the forces of death and decay in the one great pagan Empire which the wrecks of millenniums have left on the earth—surely there is a call to service that might fire the spirit of the dullest of us." If this was true when Dr. Gibson wrote it a few years ago, how much more is it true now, when the burden

of that decadent pagan Empire has been suddenly cast off and the mighty spirit of life given freer and more majestic scope. When, in all the history of the world, has such a summons come to the men of a generation?

And it comes to the women as well as the men. More than half of the missionaries in China are women, and hundreds more are needed. Evangelistic, educational and medical work for women and girls must be conducted by women missionaries from the West. The character of the homes and the new position of woman in Chinese society will be largely determined by them. No nation rises above the moral level of its wives and mothers, and all our plans for the regeneration of China must fail unless the women of Europe and America respond with prompt and unselfish service.

It is surely time for the Christian Churches of Europe and America to understand that their greatest work in the twentieth century is to plan this movement on a scale gigantic in comparison with anything they have yet done, and to meet intelligently, generously and prayerfully, the splendid opportunity to give new China the principles of a new life. The obstacles are formidable, but we can say with Gladstone: "Time is on our side. The great social forces which move onward in their might and majesty and which the tumults of these strifes do not for a moment

impede or disturb, those forces are marshalled in our support. And the banner which we now carry in the fight, though perhaps at some moment of the struggle it may droop over our sinking hearts, yet will float again in the eye of Heaven and will be borne, perhaps not to an easy, but to a certain and to a not distant victory." [1]

"Ye shall hear of wars and rumors of wars," our Lord calmly said to His disciples. "See that ye be not troubled; for these things must needs come to pass." "This Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world for a testimony unto all the nations." [2] "Now is come the salvation, and the power, and the kingdom of our God, and the authority of His Christ." [3]

"And who knoweth whether thou art not come to the kingdom for such a time as this?" [4]

[1] Speech on the Reform Bill. [2] Matt. xxiv: 6, 14.
[3] Rev. xii: 10. [4] Esther iv: 14.

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